

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



The celibate marriages of saints and martyrs in late antiquity

Alwis, Anne Priyani

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT



Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**The Celibate Marriages of Saints and
Martyrs in Late Antiquity**

Anne Priyani Alwis

PhD

King's College, University of London

2001



ABSTRACT

This thesis presents three case studies of saintly couples who voluntarily choose to have a celibate marriage. The *Lives* of Galaktion and Episteme (BHG 665); Julian and Basilissa (BHG 970) and Andronikos and Athanasia (BHG 123a) are translated and analysed to investigate how celibate marriage is depicted in each text. Celibacy within marriage was a paradox since the ostensible purpose of Christian marriage was procreation. This thesis will show that an emotional bond remains between the couples despite the absence of the essence of a Christian marital relationship. Consequently, each text reveals a focus on the idea of a couple and their marriage, and not merely the notion of celibacy.

Chapter One provides the literary context for each narration, focusing on the date of the texts, their purpose and their audience. Chapter Two uses the texts as a framework for exploring the Christian ideology of marriage and particularly celibate marriage. The transition, if any, from pagan to Christian marriage is discussed. Ideals of sanctity and celibacy within marriage are then examined using the writings of the Church Fathers, legal sources and other saint's *Lives*. Finally, the interactions between the husbands and wives are examined, illustrating that an emotional bond remains despite their vow of celibacy. The last three chapters comprise the three translated versions of the chosen *Lives*, with accompanying notes.

This thesis investigates how the paradox of celibate marriage is presented in three saints' *Lives* and shows that the value of marriage does not decline if the husbands and wives opt for celibacy within their relationship.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Abstract | 2 |
| Contents | 3 |
| Abbreviations | 5 |
| Acknowledgements | 7 |
| Introduction | 10 |
| Chapter 1 The Background to each Text | 20 |
| 1.1 <i>Galaktion and Episteme</i> | 20 |
| 1.1.1 The Date of the <i>Life</i> | 22 |
| 1.1.2 The Literary Setting of the <i>Life</i> | 22 |
| (a) Similarities to Achilles Tatios | 22 |
| (b) The Saints' <i>Life</i> as Novel | 24 |
| 1.1.3 Late-Byzantine Reception to the Novel | 26 |
| 1.1.4 The Purpose of the Saints' <i>Life</i> | 30 |
| 1.1.5 The Audience | 32 |
| 1.2 <i>Julian and Basilissa</i> | 34 |
| 1.2.1 The Date of the <i>Life</i> | 34 |
| 1.2.2 The Audience | 42 |
| 1.3 <i>Andronikos and Athanasia</i> | 43 |
| 1.3.1 The Daniel Cycle and the Date of the Text | 43 |
| 1.4 Comparing the Three Saints' <i>Lives</i> | 46 |
| Chapter 2 Marriage | 57 |
| 2.1 Definitions | 57 |
| 2.2 The Practice of Marriage | 58 |
| 2.3 The Christian Ideology of Marriage | 64 |
| 2.4 Spiritual Marriage | 67 |
| 2.5 Celibacy, Separation and the Law | 70 |
| 2.6 Saints, Marriage and Celibacy | 74 |
| 2.7 Celibate Marriage in the Chosen Saints' <i>Lives</i> | 77 |

| | | |
|---|--|-----|
| 2.7.1 | <i>Galaktion and Episteme</i> | 77 |
| 2.7.2 | <i>Julian and Basilissa</i> | 79 |
| 2.7.2a | The Portrayal of Family in the <i>Life</i> | 79 |
| 2.7.2a (i) | The Conventional Family | 79 |
| 2.7.2a (ii) | The Denial of Family | 81 |
| 2.7.2a (iii) | The Spiritual Family | 82 |
| 2.7.2b | Julian and Basilissa’s Celibate Marriage | 85 |
| 2.7.3 | <i>Andronikos and Athanasia</i> | 92 |
| 2.8 | Wives and Husbands | 101 |
| Chapter 3 <i>The Life and Martyrdom of Galaktion and Episteme</i> | | 110 |
| 3.1 | The Text | 111 |
| 3.2 | The Translation | 124 |
| 3.3 | Notes on the Text | 134 |
| Chapter 4 <i>The Life and Martyrdom of Julian and Basilissa</i> | | 147 |
| 4.1 | The Text | 148 |
| 4.2 | The Translation | 176 |
| 4.3 | Notes on the Text | 214 |
| Chapter 5 <i>The Life of Andronikos and Athanasia</i> | | 250 |
| 5.1 | The Text | 251 |
| 5.2 | The Translation | 269 |
| 5.3 | Notes on the Text | 280 |
| Conclusion | | 296 |
| Bibliography | | 300 |
| Appendix 1 | | 327 |

ABBREVIATIONS

- BHG³, *Auctarium*, ed., F. Halkin, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 47 (Brussels, 1969)
- BHG³, *Novum Auctarium*, ed., F. Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 65 (Brussels, 1984)
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1897-)
- Lexicon, *Kriaras*, *Lexiko ths Mesaiwnikhhs Ellhvikhs Dhmwvous Grammateias, 1100-1669* (Thessaloniki, 1968-), 13 vols-
- Lexicon, *Lampe*, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961)
- Lexicon, *Liddell & Scott*, H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (cont. H. S. Jones), *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1996⁹)
- Lexicon, *Sophokles*, E. A. Sophokles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (146BC-1100AD)* (New York, 1887), 2 vols.
- Lexicon, *Suidae*, ed., A. Adler, 4 vols, et. addendum (Leipzig, 1928-1938; Stuttgart, 1967-1971³)
- PG ed., J. P. Migne *Patrologia curus completus...*, series Graeco-Latina, 161 vols, in 166 (Paris, 1857-1891)

SC Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1924-)

JOURNALS

| | |
|-------------|---|
| <i>AB</i> | Analecta Bollandiana |
| <i>ASAE</i> | Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte |
| <i>B</i> | Byzantion |
| <i>CE</i> | Chronique d'Égypte |
| <i>CQ</i> | Classical Quarterly |
| <i>GRBS</i> | Greece, Rome and Byzantine Studies |
| <i>JECS</i> | Journal of Early Christian Studies |
| <i>JRS</i> | Journal of Roman Studies |
| <i>RB</i> | Révue Benedictine |
| <i>REB</i> | Révue des études byzantines |
| <i>ROC</i> | Révue de l'orient chrétien |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

These pages allow me the luxury to thank and acknowledge a vast number of people. Two years funding from the Masom Trust for Greek and Latin (Senate House) enabled me to write this thesis. The generosity of the Central Research Fund (University of London) and the Dover Fund also allowed the purchase of photocopies of manuscripts. I would also like to thank the librarians of the Vatican Library, Rome, the Marciana in Venice and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris for their help in procuring photocopies and photographs of manuscripts.

My main debt is to my supervisor, Judith Herrin, who despite her incredibly busy life, has guided and supported my work for the past four years with enormous patience, common sense and inspiration. She has been a wonderful teacher. I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Charlotte Roueché for introducing me to Byzantium, for bombarding me with manifold ideas and for all her help with the Greek language. Julian Chrysostomides and Charalambos Dendrinis have been unfailing generous and supportive, always going beyond what is deemed adequate, in order to help and advise. Dion Smythe has been a formative influence and a mentor in every sense and I will always remain in his debt. I would also like to record my gratitude to Carlotta Dionisotti, David Ganz, Jonathan Harris and particularly to Richard Alston and Mary Whitby, who have either read various parts of the thesis in its early stages or proffered advice. I am very grateful for their insightful comments. My uncle, Wesley Ariarajah, helped me enormously with the conclusion and with his insights and knowledge of celibacy in Hinduism and Buddhism. Diana Burton, Rebecca Flemming and Benet Salway have not only been friends for many years but have always been at hand to help search for unattainable books and websites, to translate the odd Greek phrase and to offer references, advice and chocolate. The triumvirate who have been my backbone during these three years (and for many years before) are Jane Chaplin, Stefano Evangelista and Philippa Lass. They alone have understood what it is like to write a thesis and have spent many weary hours reassuring me and hearing about the various stages of the thesis *ad nauseam*. Their patience and forbearance with my varying moods, their humour and

understanding and above all, their unconditional friendship, should be recorded. Antoinette Daniel, Charlotte Reed and Nazrin Choudhury have likewise supported me in ways too numerous to mention. I would also like to thank some of my other amazing friends; Valentina Arena, Caspar Bartington, Angela Bell, Tania Davies, Izabella Donkow, Janet Downie, Caroline Johnson, Chrisi Kotsifou, Celine Marquaille, Erik Rizzer, James Robson, Mary Ruskin, Bella Sandwell and Rupert Smith for sticking by me and for providing me with varied forms of amusement. I would also like to pay tribute to the wonderful librarians of the ICS, Colin, Paul, Sue and Sophia, who have teased me constantly and, for unfathomable reasons, have been endlessly interested in all aspects of my work. My sister Christine, Shashi and my little Ellie have been marvellously understanding. However it is my parents to whom I owe the most, for without them this thesis would never have been written. They have listened to every paper and chapter that I have ever written and been patient witness to all the soaring highs and darkest lows that make up the life of a postgraduate. For all this, and most of all for their unconditional love, I dedicate this thesis.

For Amma and Thathi

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is based on three tales of saintly couples: the *Lives* of Sts. Galaktion & Episteme (BHG 665)¹; Sts. Julian & Basilissa (BHG 970)² and Sts. Andronikos & Athanasia (BHG 123a).³ Each husband and wife voluntarily chooses to have a celibate marriage. Galaktion and Episteme and Julian and Basilissa never consummate their union, whilst Andronikos and Athanasia choose to renounce sexual relations after the birth of their son and daughter. This thesis explores the couples' mutual choice to have a sexless marriage and investigates, within the framework of Christian marriage, the three relationships ensuing from this decision. Since the purpose of Christian marriage was procreation, the avoidance of sexual relations within a legitimate union creates an intriguing paradox.⁴

A celibate marriage is a problem and a threat because it contravenes the most fundamental of social expectations, namely that Christian marriage existed to contain sexual desire and harness it for a productive means - children. But this was not the only problem. A celibate marriage would, in addition, be constructed from a platonic friendship between a man and a woman, based on nothing other than a mutual regard and respect. This would indeed be a revolutionary notion for Christian or even pagan marriage. For even though we have evidence from

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov: 3:35-41. Frequently, Late Antique texts are preserved in mid to late-Byzantine texts though external factors, discussed in Chapter One, 22-30, point to the tenth century as the date of the text.

² F. Halkin, "La passion ancienne des saints Julien et Basilisse (BHG 970-971)", *Analecta Bollandiana* 98 (1980), 241-296. We have a *terminus post quem* of the sixth century for the text. See Chapter One, 34-43.

³ A.-C. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Franzoniana, Genova (Urbani 21-40)*, Supplemento n. 17 al *Bollettino dei Classici* (Accademia Nazionale, Lincei, 1996), 164-173. *Andronikos and Athanasia* is an edition of Cod. Urbani 36, ff. 183-193^v (tenth-eleventh century), which is the sole extant manuscript for this version. The date of the narrative is the sixth century, see Chapter One, 43-46. Appendix One is a comparison of this recension with the two other versions edited by Clugnet. These are BHG 121 and BHG 122: "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel, de Scété", *Revue d'orient chrétien* 5 (1900) 49-73; 254-271; 370-406; 535-564. BHG 121: 370-375; BHG 122: 375-380; *idem*, ROC 6 (1901), 51-87.

⁴ The Church Fathers engaged in constant debate on the merits of continence as opposed to marriage. One had to be preferred to the other. The option of having celibacy within a marriage as in the chosen saints' *Lives* was not considered. See Chapter Two, 65-67. See A. Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988), esp. 141-159; 179-193. Of all the Church Fathers, Chrysostom's voice is the loudest in proclaiming the importance of containing sexual desire within marriage. See for example, *On Marriage and Family Life* tr., C. P. Roth & D. Anderson (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1986).

the Classical period of husbands and wives who seem to have affection for one another⁵, this concept is rare or the evidence for it does not often survive.⁶ Marriage was a legal and public institution that fulfilled a civic need by generating legitimate citizens who could then gain appropriate inheritance.⁷ Romantic liaisons resulting in legal alliances were the province of novels.⁸

In this context, celibacy within Christian marriage simply does not make sense. Alternative forms of marriage, such as “spiritual marriage”, only created furore rather than eased the tension.⁹ This form of cohabitation involved male and female ascetics living out their daily life in close proximity as if married, yet naturally, without sexual intercourse. Reaction to this practice was commotion, illustrating perfectly how the Greek East could not reconcile the idea of an emotional bond or even a bond of companionship between a man and a woman. Though spiritual marriage did not apply to lay men and women, the same principles applied to a celibate marriage.

The idea of the quality of relationship between husband and wife was not given voice in the Western theological tradition until St. Augustine. When he reasoned that the marital bond was still valid, despite an absence of physical intimacy, Augustine held up to scrutiny not just a marriage where the couple later abstained from sex, but a virginal union. In fact, he commented on *the* virginal union, that of Mary and Joseph. In *Contra Faustum* he stated that they “can be called husband and wife because ‘intercourse of the mind is more

⁵ Pliny, in one of his letters to his wife Calpurnia, writes, “You say that you are feeling my absence very much, and your only comfort when I am not there is to hold my writings in your hand and often put them in my place by your side...I, too, am always reading your letters...but this only fans the fire of my longing for you...”, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny* (Penguin, Middlesex, 1963), 6.7 However it should be taken into account that Pliny was always very aware of his audience. Plutarch, in “Advice to a Bride and Groom”, seems to advocate similar sentiments, “...it is a lovely thing for the wife to sympathise with her husband’s concerns and the husband with the wife’s...so that...the co-partnership (ἡ κοιωνία) may be preserved through the joint action of both.” However he goes on to say that this is because of the union achieved through licit intercourse, “...for Nature unites us through the commingling of our bodies (μίγνυσι διὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμᾶς), *Moralia* II, tr., F. Babbitt (Loeb, London, 1962).

⁶ Averil Cameron comprehensively covers the problems in “Sacred and Profane Love” in L. James, ed., *Women, Men and Eunuchs* (Routledge, London and New York, 1997), 1-23, esp. 7-10.

⁷ See Chapter Two, 58-59.

⁸ T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1983).

⁹ See Chapter Two, 67-70.

intimate than that of the body'".¹⁰ Though Augustine's opinions developed in a Western context, they at least show that celibacy in a marital relationship was considered workable. What is important for this thesis is that this view was not articulated by Church Fathers in the East. In Chapter Two we shall see that a non-sexual relationship between the sexes was clearly inexplicable to many Christians and was, moreover, regarded not only as impossible but dangerous.¹¹ To admit that a woman had other virtues that did not pertain directly to her function as a wife and mother meant admitting that she might be an equal. Christian ideas on celibacy were affected by a tendency to equate sex with sin and woman played a prominent rôle as temptress. Elevating her to a position of manly equality was unthinkable.

What is so interesting about the chosen saints' *Lives* is that all three do illustrate strength of feeling between saintly husbands and wives, despite their mutual choice to have a sexless marriage. This notion of an emotional bond thus disregards the basic tenets held about marriage outlined above. At the end of Chapter Two we shall see how the authors circumvented this situation to admit the possibility where the interactions between the marital couples are discussed at length. All three couples (to varying degrees) are portrayed as still being emotionally bound to one another despite their vow of celibacy. Though these events can of course be contextualised against a dismissive classification of hagiographic romance, this cannot be the entire explanation. Other tales falling into this category, such as *Cecilia*, *Alexis* or *Timotheos and Maura* do not place emphasis on the relationship between husband and wife.¹² But *Galaktion and Episteme*, *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* do. This is important for the thesis because the three Greek saints' *Lives* illustrate that even if the primary

¹⁰E. A. Clark, "'Adam's Only Companion': Augustine and the Early Christian Debate on Marriage" in R. R. Edwards & S. Spector (eds), *The Olde Daunce: Love, Friendship, Sex and Marriage in the Medieval World* (State University of New York Press, New York, 1991), 15-31, esp. 22 citing *Contra Faustum* 23. 8. This notion was maintained for hundreds of years as can be seen in the correspondence of Abelhard and Heloise. Heloise was insistent that sex was not part of the sacrament of marriage, distinguishing between "concupiscentia" and "libido", and "amicitia" and "amor" in 1 *Ad Ab* 72: 22-23, cited in N. Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches 1100-1300* (D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1997).

¹¹See Chapter Two, 67-70.

¹²See note 6 above.

force in a man and woman's licit union is eliminated, an emotional bond remains. The fact of such a bond, so rarely portrayed in the sources, supports the premise that each text is essentially linked to the couples' relationships, not just the issue of celibacy itself. The possibility of this interaction being depicted positively in an Eastern context proves the significance of all three saints' *Lives*.

The phenomenon of celibate marriage has previously been investigated in Dyan Elliott's monograph, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*.¹³ Elliott surveys mainly Western evidence using saint's *Lives*, chroniclers and legal and ecclesiastical sources, terming her approach "theory and practice".¹⁴ This method eventually yields mainly historical, theoretical paradigms of instances of celibate marriage. Though very useful, the main problem of this system is that Elliot does not always contextualise the texts she chooses, particularly the saint's *Lives*.¹⁵

This thesis is not devoted to the history of Greek celibate marriage in the East but is rather, an evaluation of the treatment of the phenomenon in the chosen texts. Chapter One concerns the dating of the texts, outlining their purpose and function, tracing the narratives' literary antecedents and attempting to identify their audience. Chapter Two explores the idea of celibate marriage, comparing it with and distinguishing it from, 'normal' Christian marriage, chaste marriage and spiritual marriage. The final section in Chapter Two explains why the protagonists of the saints' *Lives* had celibate marriages and what happens to their relationships after the vow of celibacy is taken. Chapters Three, Four and Five comprise the texts with translations and notes. The edition of *Andronikos and Athanasia*, taken from Urbani 36 (tenth-eleventh centuries), is not the earliest version but was chosen for two reasons: firstly, no work on this particular text has previously been undertaken; and secondly, the narrative offers greater descriptive detail about the lives of Andronikos and Athanasia.

¹³D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993).

¹⁴*eadem*, 5.

¹⁵*eadem*, esp. 63-73 for the *Life* of Cecilia and the *Life* of Alexis.

Though the texts vary in genre and chronology, individual analyses of the narratives provide some initial conclusions. First, a continued interest in the idea of marriage as a unique sacramental bond between man and woman. The second point is that the inherent paradox of Christian celibate marriage did pose problems for secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the texts deal with this tension within the parameters and conventions of their genre, by placing emphasis on the marriages of the protagonists and not merely the aspect of celibacy. This last point is explored in Chapter Two where the interactions of the partners within their marital relationships are explored.

The point at which all three texts meet is in the character of the holy man or woman. Peter Brown's original concept was that of a holy man acting as intercessor for God and man¹⁶, and as a patron.¹⁷ These rôles helped reinforce communal life in a village.¹⁸ His character emanated power, a power that aided the society in which he lived.¹⁹ Miracles were merely a symbol of this capacity.²⁰ This concept of the holy man in Late Antiquity continues to resonate for many hagiographic texts. The pros and cons of this model have been amply commented on and revised by Brown himself, and most recently, by a larger group of specialists in James Howard-Johnston's edited collection.²¹ However the saints we find in the three *Lives* examined in this thesis are cast from a different mould. Brown's earlier model did not deal with saintly couples and that is exactly what we have in this thesis. We are presented with a self-contained unit, a holy man and a holy woman linked by the public-private institution of marriage. These people, it is argued, remain inextricably bound to one another.

¹⁶P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80-101, esp. 88, 89-91.

¹⁷*idem*, 85-87.

¹⁸*idem*, 90.

¹⁹*idem*, 87.

²⁰*idem*, 87.

²¹See the *Symbolae Osloenses* Debate, "The World of Late Antiquity Revisited", *Symbolae Osloenses* 72 (1997), 5-90, esp. 18-22; 34-36; J. Howard-Johnston & P. A. Hayward, *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999).

Inevitably the mechanics of their personae followed an alternative dynamic as can be seen in the following summaries of the tales.

Galaktion and Episteme opens with the story of Galaktion's parents, Kleitophon and Gleukippe. The pagan couple live in the Syrian city of Emesa, in the midst of an unspecified time of Christian persecution. They lead an unhappy life together with Kleitophon beating Gleukippe because she is barren. Consequently husband and wife worship Artemis, the goddess of fertility and childbirth. One day Onouphrios, a monk in disguise, comes to the house, ostensibly for alms. Learning of Gleukippe's situation, he persuades her to convert to Christianity. Only then, he claims, will she bear a child. In desperation she consents and so Galaktion is born. After many years he is betrothed to Episteme, a beautiful and well-born pagan girl. But there is trouble when Galaktion refuses to kiss her and she is troubled. She complains to her father who remonstrates with the reluctant bridegroom. In response, Galaktion explains to Episteme that since she is not a Christian, he cannot embrace her. Accordingly she agrees to convert and he baptises her secretly in the garden. Somewhat unfortunately for Episteme, Galaktion has other plans for their married life. He convinces her that they should renounce all worldly ties to follow God and so they give away their possessions and leave for a distant mountain retreat on Mount Sinai, represented by two small communities of monks and four old women. The pair settle in the separate communities, never seeing each other until the day Galaktion is abducted by the governor's guards. Episteme runs to join him, determined never to be separated from him again. They are tried, tortured and eventually decapitated. The family servant, Eutolmios, who was supposedly in the service of Galaktion's mother and thus presumably trusted, narrates the whole tale.

Julian and Basilissa is a very different story, in terms of tone and narrative style.²² The main point to note is that the pair's celibate marriage is given far

²²See Chapter Two, 79-91.

greater emphasis than in the other stories, as are the ideals of virginity and total renunciation of the worldly life.

Julian belongs to a very wealthy family held in high esteem in Antinoopolis, in Egypt. His parents are keen for him to marry but Julian tries to resist, fearing that in taking a wife his purity will be stained. He is reassured by God Who tells him that He has chosen a wife for him and that both Julian and his bride will remain virgin. On their wedding night the couple take a vow of celibacy and are rewarded by the magnificent sight of the Holy Host of angels, Christ and Mary. They are allowed to read the Book of Life that reveals to them their future: they will nourish and tend young men and women, guiding and instructing them. Accordingly the pair convert their houses into two monasteries and are inundated by people from all walks of life, eager to follow their teachings. After some time, Basilissa has a dream in which God tells her that she will soon die but Julian will face more hardships before he earns his crown in Heaven. The prophecy is fulfilled and Julian is left to carry out his destiny without his wife.

The *martyrdom* now begins with the persecution in Egypt set in the times of Diocletian and Maximian. Altogether Julian is given seven chances to sacrifice to the gods and repeatedly refuses. Unfortunately for the governor, Markianos, his only son Kelsios is drawn to Julian, as are the soldiers guarding the saints. The final straw comes when Markianos' wife, Markianilla is also converted. Markianos, with increasing desperation and no little exasperation, tries to force Julian and his followers to recant by exposing them to various forms of torture, but to no avail. The saints remain stubbornly alive, unharmed and relentlessly argumentative. Julian also performs various miracles infuriating Markianos further. Eventually the entire band of martyrs is beheaded. A tremendous earthquake that destroys a third of Antinoopolis signals the enormity of Markianos' crime. The governor tries to flee, but falls ill and is devoured by worms. The narrative ends with Julian's relics being buried in the 'great church' and there is a short account of the miraculous healing of some lepers that consequently takes place.

The final tale, *Andronikos and Athanasia*, provides a third angle on celibate marriage. The following version is based on my translation of Cod. Urbani 36.

Andronikos is a wealthy banker who lives in Antioch. He is exceptionally pious and spends most of his considerable wealth in caring for the poor and needy. His wife, Athanasia, is the daughter of his colleague and is as devoted to the philanthropic life as her husband. After having two children, John and Mary, the couple decide to forgo sexual relations in order to devote more time to matters of the spirit as opposed to the flesh. Tragedy strikes when John is twelve and Mary is ten; they fall seriously ill and eventually die. Athanasia is distraught and wishes to die with her children but Andronikos accepts it is God's Will. The children are buried in the church of St. Julian the martyr and Athanasia remains by their tomb on the night of the funeral. Exhausted by grief, she falls asleep and dreams of a monk reprimanding her for her grief. When Athanasia awakes she asks the night porter for the identity of the monk who comforted her. The porter is dumbstruck for he knows that no one could have entered the church through its locked door. Realising that the monk was in fact St. Julian, Athanasia hurries home to tell Andronikos and announces her intention to enter a monastery. Her husband tells her to think it over for a week and finding that after this period her resolution remains steadfast, decides to accompany her on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Once they have visited the Holy Land they make their way to Egypt, to the shrine of St. Menas. There Andronikos meets a monk from Sketis and decides to accompany him to the great lavra, leaving Athanasia at the shrine of St. Menas. He promises to return and so he does, having confided in the great Daniel of Sketis about Athanasia. Daniel tells Andronikos to bring Athanasia to Sketis and proceeds to instruct her in the monastic way of life, teaching which culminates in her entering the convent of Tabennesi with letters of introduction or recommendation from Daniel. Andronikos remains with Daniel for a further twelve years, at the end of which, he decides once again to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As the journey is arduous and, hampered by the heat, he takes a rest in the shade of a tree. Suddenly he sees a figure approaching in a monk's habit. It is Athanasia but he does not recognise her as

her face is so sunburnt and worn by suffering. She however recognises him instantly and having ascertained that he is Andronikos, keeps this piece of knowledge to herself and travels in silence with him to Jerusalem. On their return journey to Egypt, the pair decide to live in the same cell at the monastery of Oktokaidekaton. They spend the next twelve years together, but all the while Andronikos never realises that the monk with whom he spends every moment of his life, is actually his wife. Athanasia never tells him the truth. Eventually she falls ill and dies. When her body is prepared for burial, the monks discover to their utter amazement that she is actually a woman. Documents she keeps in her pillow reveal her true identity. Andronikos is inconsolable and dies soon afterwards. An argument breaks out between the monks of Sketis and those of Oktokaidekaton as to where Andronikos should be buried. Daniel solves the quarrel by threatening to leave Sketis unless Andronikos is buried beside his wife at Oktokaidekaton. Thus husband and wife are laid to rest side by side in the Fathers' cemetery.²³

These three saints' *Lives* were singled out from the vast corpus of hagiography primarily because all three narratives tell, with great feeling, of how six people interact within a celibate marriage. Equally importantly, none of the *Lives* had any significant scholarly work devoted to them. Although celibate or chaste marriages are ascribed to other saintly husbands and wives, all too often the authors are describing sexual fidelity.²⁴ Furthermore, tales such as *Timotheos and Maura* do not dwell on the couple's union or their relationship. We are merely informed that they are married, with the narrative tending to concentrate on the trial and martyrdom.²⁵ This is in direct contrast to *Galaktion and Episteme*, *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia*.

In *Galaktion and Episteme*, Episteme is devoted to her husband who by contrast, is single-minded about his own personal destiny. She converts to Christianity only because it is his wish, she gives away all her possessions and

²³This last sentence describing the end of the story is not present in Urbani 36 as the manuscript breaks off after the description of the argument.

²⁴See above.

²⁵See Chapter Two, 74-75.

leaves the worldly life purely because he wants her to. Moreover, when he is captured, she cannot bear to see him being tortured and is in agony, seeing him in so much pain. Her depiction as a true, passionate heroine contrasts starkly with Galaktion's somewhat blander characterisation, thus ensuring that her devotion to him rings true all the more clearly. This in turn, emphasises her loyalty to their marital bond.

Julian and Basilissa have a more understated relationship based on practical concerns. As discussed below, their marriage is celebrated as a virginal union far more explicitly than in the other two texts.²⁶ Their story also differs from the other three in that Basilissa dies long before Julian. Yet her presence, so strong in the early part of the story, is not forgotten. After forty-two chapters she reappears to Julian in a vision, as he is about to undergo his final torture. Moreover divine and prophetic visions so far have been the province of Christ, Mary or angels. In this instance it is Basilissa who reminds Julian and the audience of their bond, a declaration affirmed by her message to her husband that she is in heaven and waiting for him.²⁷

Andronikos and Athanasia hold the truest approximation to Augustine's social theory of marriage but with an Eastern twist. Essentially, the couple have a celibate relationship in two stages of their life. Firstly after the birth of their children, they embark upon a period of celibacy that lasts for ten years. After their ascetic training and due to various circumstances, not least by God's dispensation, they end up cohabiting in a monastic retreat for twelve years and are completely inseparable. But the notion of celibate marriage was always problematic in the East and there is always a catch.²⁸ Here, it is that Athanasia is disguised as a man and Andronikos has no idea he is living with his wife. As a further twist, we learn that Athanasia knows perfectly well the identity of her "brother", yet chooses to remain silent on the matter. On this level their relationship provides a shift from Augustinian principles: only Athanasia lives

²⁶Chapter Two, 79ff.

²⁷*Julian and Basilissa* chs. 5; 8.

²⁸See Chapter Two, 101-109.

the higher social bond of marriage. The reasons for this are elucidated in Chapter Two but briefly, Athanasia's restraint proves her worthiness to attain her σκοπός (aim) whilst Andronikos' ignorance clears him of possible accusations of living with a woman for twelve years.

The story neatly illustrates the confusion in the Eastern tradition over celibate marriage, which could never quite reconcile the idea of a man and a woman cohabiting in a non-sexual relationship. In Athanasia's case, she actually does continue to live with her husband. Admittedly it is not as a wife or even a woman, but as a man. But as sex had always defined women as wives and thus, mothers, this is what is left: companionship between two people who are not defined by gender. Andronikos and Athanasia's story perfectly encapsulates the tensions faced by the Eastern Church in trying to reconcile the paradox of celibate marriage, which had been settled by St. Augustine in the West. Its complexities were never fully resolved in the East.

CHAPTER ONE

1. THE BACKGROUND TO EACH TEXT

This chapter identifies the date of each text and traces its literary background.

1.1 GALAKTION AND EPISTEME

The *Life and Martyrdom* of Sts. Galaktion and Episteme survives in seven Greek manuscripts, six of which date to the eleventh century. Delehaye's untranslated edition of the saints' *Life* is to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, under November 5th.¹ A metaphrastic version (BHG 666) is also extant in the same volume, providing a *terminus ante quem* of the tenth century for the pre-metaphrastic text.² *The Dictionary of Saints*,³ *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*⁴ and *The Lives of the Saints*⁵ all suggest that the date of the couple's martyrdom was between 250-252AD and thus under Decius, a date which has no literary or legal standing.

A precise date of composition is difficult to establish since the narrative yields insufficient internal evidence. It is a brute fact that very few surviving martyr accounts have been proved to be indisputably authentic.⁶ Factors to be taken into consideration include the incorporation of the name of the persecuting emperor, genuine locations with some mention of architecture or local custom for authentication, or named governors who can be traced in surviving records and/or trial detail. Coles⁷ and Bisbee⁸ have produced extensive research on the latter, which is discussed in the commentary below. Van Minnen explored this

¹ AASS Nov 3: 35-41.

² AASS Nov 3: 41-45. Symeon Metaphrastes emended the entire corpus of saints' lives available to him in the mid-tenth century, rendering many in forms far from their originals.

³ J. J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (Kaye & Ward Ltd, Surrey, 1982).

⁴ Rt. Rev. F. G. Holwerk, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (B. Herder Book Co., London, 1924).

⁵ Rev. S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, 13, Nov (part 1) (John Grant, Edinburgh, 1914)

⁶ For an example, see the detailed account of the martyr Stephanos by P. van Minnen, "The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic", *AB* 113 (1995), 13-38.

⁷ R. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 4 (Fondation Égyptologique reine Elisabeth, Brussels, 1966).

⁸ G. Bisbee, *Pre-Decian Acts of Martyrs and Commentarii* (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1988).

very territory in ascertaining that Stephanos the martyr actually existed. He concluded, "Stephanos can be located in space and time with the help of three co-ordinates: his place of origin and the place and date of his martyrdom".⁹ This is the method used by Delehayé.¹⁰

If this exploratory framework is placed over the story of Galaktion and Episteme, we find severe problems. Firstly there is no mention of a presiding emperor. The governors mentioned, Sekoundos and later Oursos who span the two generations of Galaktion's family, are standard Late Antique names. There is no mention in the prosopography of Sekoundos for the region of Phoenicia nor of Oursos for Arabia.¹¹ Thus we cannot accurately locate the narrative in an accurate historical epoch. Secondly, the locations of Emesa, Sinai and Mount Pouplion are merely noted with no conclusive description of topography or local customs.¹² Though Gleukippe worships Artemis, the goddess' cult is not documented for Emesa. However, it may very well have been celebrated in the area, with its standard function, that of helping barren women to conceive and not because Artemis' shrine existed in Emesa.¹³ Sinai, of course, does exist but Mount Pouplion is untraceable. Moreover Galaktion and Episteme's journey from Emesa to the Sinai Peninsula apparently takes ten days. This is impossible.¹⁴ Lastly, using Coles' and Bisbee's trial evidence, the events of the couple's trial bear no similarity to authenticated martyr trials. Thus the story is set in an unspecified time of Christian persecution and in an unknown but not obscure location.¹⁵ There are no further details.

⁹ P. van Minnen (1995), 17.

¹⁰ And summarised in R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Poitiers, 1953), esp. 56-72.

¹¹ A. H. M. Jones, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992), 4 vols; P. de Rohden and H. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Saec. I, II, III (George Reimerum, Berlin, 1898-1998), 6 vols.

¹² See Notes.

¹³ For Artemis' many attributes, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC) II (1): Aphrodisias-Athena (Artemis Verlag, Zürich und München, 1984), 618-855.

¹⁴ If we look at Egeria's travels to get an approximation of travelling distances, we find that when she travelled from Mount Sinai to the nearest inhabited town (Paran), the journey is described thus, "It is thirty-five miles from the mountain of God to Paran and when we arrived there, we needed two days rest". *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, tr., J. Wilkinson (Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1981).

¹⁵ cf. M. Alexiou, "A Critical Reappraisal of Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminas*", *BMGS* 3 (1977), 23-43.

The pair are beheaded and their family servant, Eutolmios, who has been the eyewitness and narrator of the unfolding events, gathers up the remains of their bodies and buries them “in that place”.¹⁶ The vagueness of the burial location adds to the fictional quality of the *Life*. The conclusions drawn thus point to the text as a literary invention. So, when, why and for whom was the story composed?

1.1.1 THE DATE OF THE LIFE

The survival of the metaphrastic text helps establish parameters around this enquiry, providing *Galaktion and Episteme* with a *terminus ante quem* of the late tenth century. We also note that the text was copied in the eleventh century, indicating continuing interest in the type of tale the *Life* had to offer.

The strongest clue we have is the names of Galaktion's parents, Gleukippe and Kleitophon, names that are immediately reminiscent of the protagonists of Achilles Tatios' novel *The Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon*. Rather suggestively, the Venetian manuscript (Ven. Mar. gr. 349) initially names Galaktion's mother as Leukippe¹⁷ but thereafter reverts to Gleukippe. S. MacAlister has summarily commented on the *metaphrastic* version of the *Life* concluding that it is a 'Christian sequel to the happily-ever-after ending to the pagan novel'.¹⁸ H. G. Beck also observes that Galaktion is the son of Leukippe and Kleitophon.¹⁹

1.1.2 THE LITERARY SETTING OF THE LIFE

1.1.2a SIMILARITIES TO ACHILLES TATIOS

The extent of Achilles Tatios' influence on *Galaktion and Episteme* should thus be determined. Direct allusions to *Leukippe and Kleitophon* are few. If we examine narrative influences, looking for a Christian sequel to the pagan novel, we are

¹⁶ *Galaktion and Episteme*, l. 370 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ.

¹⁷ f. 65^r.

¹⁸ S. MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire* (Routledge, London & New York, 1996).

¹⁹ H. -G. Beck, "Marginalia on the Byzantine novel", in B. P. Reardon, ed., *Erotica Antiqua*, Acts of the International Conference on the Ancient Novel 62 (Bangor, s.n., 1977).

doomed to disappointment. We find that at the end of Achilles Tatios' novel, the couple marry in Tyre and are about to set sail for Byzantium. In the *Life* the couple have settled not so far away, in Emesa. A second point is that in the novel, when Kleitophon's mother dies, his father is eager for him to marry. This episode is mirrored in the *Life* for Kleitophon and *his* son, Galaktion when Gleukippe dies (Γενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑτῶν εἰκοσιπέντε, ἡβουλήθη ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῷ γυναῖκα, τῆς τιμίας αὐτοῦ μητρὸς Γλευκίππης μακαρίῳ τέλει χρησαμένης. "Ὅθεν εὐρὼν κόρην τινὰ εὐμορφοτάτην πάνυ, θυγατέρα τινὸς τῶν μεγιστάνων, ὀνόματι Ἐπιστήμην, ὥρμάσατο αὐτήν: "When he was twenty-five, his father wanted to give him a wife as his revered mother Gleukippe had died. So he found a girl who was very beautiful, the daughter of one of the high officials, called Episteme, and he (Galaktion) was betrothed to her...(6. 163-167).

In book five of the novel, the lovers are separated yet again. Kleitophon, convinced that Leukippe is dead, has married. She however, has ended up as a slave on his estate and sends him a reproachful note, telling him that she is alive and has kept her virginity (the obvious reproof is that he has not). In the note she writes, "For you I left my mother and took up the life of a wanderer...for you I became a victim for sacrifice and an expiatory offering...for you I was sold and fettered...". These are protests which Episteme echoes in *her* speech when persuading her deaconess to allow her to follow Galaktion, "... because of him I abandoned everything, wealth, parents, property and all my wealth - which was very great...".²⁰ The context however is quite different. In the novel we have an abandoned heroine, convinced that her lover has betrayed her. In the saints' *Life*, the hero is in peril and his wife proclaims how much she owes him, so much so, that she is willing to die with him.

²⁰ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 12. 295-299 δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔγνων τὸν Χριστόν, θεὸν ὄντα ἀληθινὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν πάσης πνοῆς· δι' αὐτὸν κατέλιπον πάντα, πλοῦτον, γονεῖς, κτήματα, καὶ πᾶσάν μου τὴν περιουσίαν, πολλὴν οὖσαν σφόδρα...

1.1.2b THE SAINTS' LIFE AS NOVEL

Direct allusions to Achilles Tatios' novel are few²¹ but what is clear is that *Galaktion and Episteme* reads as a novel. Interestingly, there are insinuations to other popular novels, such as Heliodoros' *Aethiopica*. For example, Gleukippe and Kleitophon live in Emesa, a land that along with others in a similar region - Sidon, Tyre and Beirut - forms the setting for an exotic and far-away adventure. But Emesa was also the birthplace of Heliodoros. Moreover Gleukippe's father is named as Memnon²², not Sostratos as in the novel.²³ In *Aethiopica*, Memnon is one of Charikleia's ancestors.²⁴

The greatest indications to the *Life's* novelistic framework however, are the many elements of the genre within the text. For example, the lament: at the beginning of the story, Gleukippe is barren and so prays to Artemis for help but her efforts are in vain. Her salvation turns up literally on her doorstep in the form of the disguised monk Onouphrios. He tells her that she will conceive if she converts to Christianity. Gleukippe's lament to Onouphrios, detailing her grief over her childlessness and Kleitophon's atrocious reaction is novelistic. We have a description of her pain, "I am childless and barren and one time I am slapped by my husband and at other times, I am scorned and persecuted in small ways. And I have exhausted my life with doctors and medicine because of this childlessness of mine but nothing helps. I am punishing my soul beyond endurance and I am living painfully".²⁵ The *Life* clearly deals with emotions and the relationships between the people whose lives we are following. There is no

²¹ It is also very difficult to find a linguistic comparison between the two texts. Similar vocabulary occurs but it is of those words in common usage, for example θησαυρός, ἔλεον, μυστήρια and νοσεῖν.

²² *Galaktion and Episteme*, 2. 41.

²³ There was a misunderstanding in Classical times over one of Egypt's rulers. Herodotus observed that Memnon was often mistaken for Sosoteris (II. 106-110). A. Bataille also notes the confusion in *Les Memnonia: recherches de papyrologie sur le nécropole de la Thèbes d'Égypte aux époques Hellénistique et romaines* (L'institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1957), 16-17.

²⁴ *Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatios*, ed., A. R. Dyck (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1996), 81, n. 11.

²⁵ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 3. 76-81.

attempt to sketch in the details of environment or everyday life, prevalent in so many saint's *Lives*. Here it is just the interaction between the characters, further illustrated when we have the little detail relating what happens when Onouphrios first knocks on Gleukippe's door: "My mistress had been beaten violently that day by her husband. For her husband was disposed to be very hostile to her on account of her sterility...as she was angry, the woman sent one of her maidservants to shut the door in his face".²⁶

Another parallel with the ancient novel occurs when Galaktion and Episteme are betrothed. Much to Episteme's dismay he refuses to embrace her. The reason he gives is that she is not a Christian. She therefore consents to be baptised by Galaktion and he tells her to "pretend to wash in the garden with fine linen... and I will baptise you".²⁷ Now the garden is the scene for many an erotic encounter in the pagan novels²⁸ and even more so in the twelfth-century novels.²⁹ By baptising and so cleansing Episteme in the narrative space where so many heroines are seduced, the hagiographer inverts the motif. The fountain, which usually commands a lengthy *ekphrasis*,³⁰ becomes a water basin - the instrument of Episteme's baptism.

Once Galaktion and Episteme decide to have a celibate marriage, the first thing Episteme does is to determine how celibacy will affect her relationship with Galaktion, how she may remain with him. She abstains from comment on the holiness of the moment and their dedication to God but asks instead, "if we do this, lord, and we separate from one another, will we always be able to rejoice with each other?".³¹ Galaktion's answer reassures her, "Give me this hour your promise, lady, that you follow me, and I will not be separated from you in this world or the next...."³²

²⁶Galaktion and Episteme, 2-3. 59-65.

²⁷Galaktion and Episteme, 7. 182-184.

²⁸ A. R. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: the Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance", *BMGS* 5 (1979), 95-115; *ibid* "Gardens of Byzantium", *Journal of Garden History* 12 (2) (1992), 126-153 and C. Barber, "Reading the Garden in Byzantium: Nature and Sexuality", *BMGS* 16 (1992), 1-19.

²⁹ R. Beaton (1996).

³⁰ C. Barber (1992), 6-7.

³¹ Galaktion and Episteme, 8. 205-207.

³² Galaktion and Episteme, 8. 207-210.

Nuances of the novel emerge once again when Oursos, the current evil governor, takes Galaktion prisoner. Thus the pair are separated as in the novels. Episteme begs her deaconess to allow her to run after her husband and so be captured, so that "I may die with him".³³ Again, there is more emotion and an effort to reunite the couple.

The governor's guards then torture Galaktion by whipping him. In martyr accounts the victims generally do not complain³⁴ but even urge the guards on.³⁵ Onlookers are persuaded to undergo similar punishments.³⁶ Here, on the contrary, Episteme is beside herself with pain and anger, so much so that the governor calls her a "maenad".³⁷ She begs Oursos to stop beating him: "O merciless tyrant, O heartless governor. Wretch, how can you not pity such beautiful limbs which you consume by scourges. Spare the young man, O brutal and foul one".³⁸ Episteme's emotion and her desire not to be separated from her husband, all point to her characterisation as a heroine of a novel.

1.1.3 LATE - BYZANTINE RECEPTION OF THE NOVEL

Hagiographic borrowing of motifs and allusions from pagan/Hellenistic romance is not a new concept.³⁹ The literary climate of the tenth to twelfth centuries, the period when the manuscripts were copied, witnessed a resurgence of the Greek novel and its debt as well as departure from its Hellenistic counterparts.⁴⁰ Krumbacher's description of a 'Verbindungsbrücken' spanning the fourth to twelfth centuries aptly evokes the sense of continuity and

³³ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 12. 291.

³⁴ Carpus smiles as he is being nailed down in the "Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice" in H. Musurillo, ed., *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972).

³⁵ *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis: latine et graecae*, ed., C. van Beek (Peter Hanstein, Bonn, 1938), ch. 9.

³⁶ See H. Musurillo (1972), "Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice", where Agathonice who is a bystander, jumps onto the pyre.

³⁷ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 14. 304.

³⁸ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 13. 331-334.

³⁹ Z. Pavlovskis, "The Life of St. Pelagia the Harlot: Hagiographic Adaptation of Pagan Romances", *Classical Folia* 30 (2) (1976), 138-149; T. Hägg, "The 'Parthenope Romance' decapitated", *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 (1984), 61-92.

⁴⁰ R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Routledge, London & New York, 1996), esp. chs 1-5. See also C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1980), 273.

borrowing which pervaded late Byzantine literature.⁴¹ To ascertain to what extent *Galaktion and Episteme's* foundation is based on, or influenced by, ancient romance, it would be instructive to examine the reception of the Hellenistic Greek novels in the Byzantine Empire to gauge their popularity.

In the ninth century, comment on *Leukippe and Kleitophon* was unanimous in its distaste for the tale's moral content. Photios in his *Bibliotheca* wrote, "The great indecency and impurity of the ideas tarnishes the intention and efforts of the author throughout. This leads the intending reader to reject and abhor the text".⁴² However the popularity of the novels never ceased, particularly those written by Heliodoros and Achilles Tatios. Acceptance by the late Byzantine audience was fostered by the belief that both the authors had converted to Christianity.⁴³ Even the *Souda*, under 'Αχιλλεὺς Στάτιος, notes "γέγονεν ἔσχατον χριστιανὸς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος". By the time of Psellos, the merits of Heliodoros and Achilles Tatios were still worth debating.⁴⁴ Psellos' letter alternates between expressing distaste for Tatios⁴⁵ and concludes, "it is useful for the rhetorician as any other narrative, so that if he should wish to deck certain parts of his own works with graces drawn from it, he may take readily whatever, in his eyes, contributes to ornamental beauty".⁴⁶ Dyck proposes that this shifting standpoint was a rhetorical ploy to augment his view on

⁴¹ H. Hunger citing Krumbacher in *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der byzantiner* (Beck, Munich, 1978), 121.

⁴² Cod 94. See also A. R. Dyck (1986), 82. Dyck also notes the entry in the *Anthologia Palatina* IX 203, supposedly by Photios, where Leucippe's virginity is praised. The epigram is copied in two thirteenth-century manuscripts of Achilles Tatios. Given Photios' disapproval in the *Bibliotheca*, Dyck observes that "the circulation of this notable encomium under the patriarch's name...may have been intended to protect the novel against ecclesiastical approval." (82). S. MacAlister (1996), 109, gives further examples of the novel's negative reception in the later Empire.

⁴³ It was also thought that Heliodoros became a Christian bishop (Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* V. 22). Photios mentions this in *Bibl.* cod 73.

⁴⁴ A. R. Dyck (1986), 83-88; 90-118. Psellos clearly prefers Heliodoros though admits that Tatios' "diction is sweeter than his predecessor's" (γλυκύτερος δὲ ἐκείνου τὴν φθᾶσιν ἐστί), 94.

⁴⁵ "In certain passages he wishes to raise himself to full height; but he is like a man suffering from gout...he gives the impression of making inexpert use of language to a considerable degree...he is negligent of the lovers' relations (ταῖς ἐρωτ[ικαῖς] ὁμιλίαις), 96-97.

⁴⁶ A. R. Dyck (1986), 98-99.

Heliodoros.⁴⁷ Psellos also emphasised the importance of the novels by advocating their teaching as the conclusion of one's studies, not at the initial stage of learning as had been the case, thus underlining their importance.⁴⁸ This change in attitude highlights the changing perspective in which the ancient romances were held. The surviving testament of the landowner Eustathius Boilas (1059AD) includes a list of his books and the *Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon* is amongst his collection.⁴⁹ These witnesses illustrate that in the tenth century, Achilles Tatios was appreciated by the literary public.

The novelist's protagonists further make guest appearances up to the twelfth century: *Leukippe and Kleitophon* even appears in a poem by "Manganeios" Prodromos.⁵⁰ Eustathios Makrembolites also makes copious use of Achilles Tatios in *Hysmine and Hysminias*,⁵¹ and the author of *Digenes Akritas* clearly has knowledge not only of Tatios but Heliodoros as well.⁵² Alternatively the novels could also be appropriated as Christian metaphor as witnessed by the writings of Philip Philagathos, a twelfth-century bishop in Calabria.⁵³ Philagathos wrote, "Charikleia is a symbol of the soul and the mind which orders it", noting earlier that, "The book is didactic, teaching moral philosophy and blending the water of history with the wine of contemplation".⁵⁴

Thus the revival of the genre of the novel and its obvious relation to its Hellenistic counterparts proved that the romances continued to hold great attraction for the Byzantine people. It is clear that Achilles Tatios in particular

⁴⁷ *idem* 84, also suggesting, "Psellos intended a plea for the freedom of the Byzantine rhetorician", that is, the freedom to pick and choose from pagan writers if he wanted to, citing the letter to John Xiphilinus, *Psell. Ep. Io. Xiph.*, 11. 179ff.

⁴⁸ *idem* 84, citing *Charact.*, 48.

⁴⁹ C. Mango (1980), 239. See also S. Vryonis Jr, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)", *DOP* 11 (1957), 263-277. Also R. Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World" in *History, Language and Literacy* (Variorum Reprints, Northampton, 1989), part VII, 25-54, esp. 44.

⁵⁰ Marc. Gr. XI, 22 f. 64 ^r noted by E. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background to the 'Romans d'Antiquité'", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 479.

⁵¹ *eadem*, 455-486, esp. 479; R. Beaton (1996), 60-61.

⁵² C. Mango (1980), 253.

⁵³ N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Duckworth, London, 1983), 216-217; A. R. Dyck (1986), 81.

⁵⁴ N. G. Wilson (1983), 216-217.

remained very popular⁵⁵ and was deemed "suitable", thanks to his religious conversion, to be used directly or as influence in hagiography of this period, for example. The *Lives* of the tenth-century resonate with allusions to the ancient novel. MacAlister cites the metaphrastic *Life* of St. Xenophon where descriptions of a storm at sea are "taken almost verbatim" from *Leukippe and Kleitophon*.⁵⁶ The *Life* of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos quotes from Achilles Tatios (as well as Homer and Thucydides)⁵⁷ and fits admirably into the contemporaneous literary world. Like *Galaktion and Episteme*, Theoktiste's *Life* reads as a novel and tellingly, is present in the same menologion as *Galaktion and Episteme*, under November 9th.

Theoktiste also expresses the same aim as our saints' *Life*: "...καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν πολλὴν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διηγήμασιν...".⁵⁸ (...what has been said proves the great benefit of edifying stories...). The tradition of edifying tales and pious fiction saw a renewed interest in the tenth century, exemplified by the stories of Paul of Monembasia.⁵⁹ These texts had their genesis in the genre of Desert literature with tales such as those collected in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.⁶⁰ As will be shown below in greater detail, *Galaktion and Episteme* slots into these categories.⁶¹ *Theoktiste* also has some similarities with Paul of Monembasia's stories. For example, in Paul's tales the narrative is generally structured as a tale within a tale. Thus various tax collectors⁶², priests⁶³, monks⁶⁴ and even imperial secretaries⁶⁵ tell their stories to Paul. *Theoktiste* starts with one

⁵⁵ H. Hunger (1978), 121-123 traces Achilles Tatios' ongoing popularity up to Antonios' eleventh-century anthology, stating that to the late Antique/ Byzantine reader, the novels offer "eine Willkommene Unterhaltung", linking their tales of high adventure to the theatre, which at the time was limited to mime and pantomime. He notes that later novelists such as Chariton of Aphrodisias would call their work δρᾶμα or δραματικόν.

⁵⁶ S. MacAlister (1996), 110: e.g. PG 114.1024 = *Leukippe and Kleitophon* 3.5.4; PG 114. 1021 = *Leukippe and Kleitophon* 3.3.1.

⁵⁷ A-M. Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, 1996), ch. 7 (p. 105); ch. 10 (p. 106). This is in keeping with the literary level of *Theoktiste* which is higher than that of *Galaktion and Episteme*.

⁵⁸ AASS Nov 3: 225. See also A- M. Talbot (1996), 102.

⁵⁹ For a fuller discussion and comparison see pp. 44-46.

⁶⁰ J. Wortley, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia and of other Authors* (Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1996), 25-53.

⁶¹ See note 59.

⁶² J. Wortley (1996), tale 1.

⁶³ *idem* e.g. tale 2.

⁶⁴ *idem* eg. tales 10; 12.

⁶⁵ *idem* tale 5.

Niketas Magistros sailing to Crete on a diplomatic mission. Landing by accident on Paros, he encounters a hermit called Symeon, who relates the story of Theoktiste. Symeon himself heard the story years earlier from an Euboean hunter.⁶⁶ *Galaktion and Episteme's* narrative is framed by Eutolmios, their family servant, who relates the tale for our benefit.

To conclude then, we know that a metaphrastic version of the text exists, establishing a *terminus ante quem* of the tenth century for the premetaphrastic *Life and Martyrdom of Galaktion and Episteme*. A number of factors point to a probable date of composition of the tenth century but it should be noted that there is no decisive internal evidence.

1.1.4 THE PURPOSE OF THE SAINTS' LIFE

The next question is why was the *Life* written? Assuming that the author intended allusions to Achilles Tatios to be recognised, we must either suppose two hypotheses. Firstly, that the author thought the novelist a Christian, or that the narrative was subject to a Christian "correction" of novels. If the former point is considered, then the date of the Souda becomes increasingly important.⁶⁷ Though debate is ongoing, current consensus places the lexicon's date of composition to 1000, again, the late tenth/early eleventh century. If we examine the literary climate of this period of the Byzantine Empire, we see that it provides a comfortable niche for the *Life* of Galaktion and Episteme. We have discussed how Achilles Tatios was transformed from a lewd pagan pornographer into a Christian bishop, whose novel was now deemed acceptable to use as inspiration or influence⁶⁸, and we have noted that the narrative fits into the tradition of

⁶⁶ *St. Theoktiste of Lesbos*, tr., A. C. Hero in *Holy Women of Byzantium*, ed., A. M. Talbot (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington), chs. 4-15.

⁶⁷ The date of the Souda is still a cause for debate but it is widely believed that it was compiled in the late tenth century, probably c. 1000AD. See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin: notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle* (Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1971), 297-300, who believes that we are working with dates between Photios, who is cited, and Eustathios of Thessalonika who cites the Souda. Lemerle concludes that the lexicon probably dates to the second half of the tenth century (298-299).

⁶⁸ However it must be remembered that the Souda is a collection of information drawn from other sources. Thus Achilles Tatios' alternative persona could have been developed earlier than the tenth century.

edifying tales which was revived in the tenth century. The continuing popularity of Achilles Tatios in this period together with an interest in hagiographic romance conceivably caused the *Life and Martyrdom* of Galaktion and Episteme to be written.⁶⁹

The second point concerns a Christian re-working of the novel. In this way, Kleitophon and Gleukippe represent the old world of the novel in a new Christian era.⁷⁰ The story may have been intended either as a moral sequel to *The Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon* or more probably, the author wished to create his own version of a novel using current literary awareness of the ancient pagan novels. This later explanation could explain a detail that commentators continually pass over: Leukippe is not called Leukippe but Gleukippe. A very subtle point admittedly but it does suggest a reluctance by the author to assume too close an association with the romance. The argument is strengthened when Episteme's lineage and background are expounded and her father's name is not mentioned at all: he is merely one of the "great ones".⁷¹ It seems odd to highlight Gleukippe's parentage, when it is surely more natural to explain Episteme's as well, since she is one of the protagonists. Possibly the hagiographer was making a conscious effort to create distance from Achilles' Tatios' novel, given the general air of disapproval which hung over the moral content of the pagan novels. Thus, in the novel, the heroine's beauty is always clearly emphasised,⁷² but in the *Life*, though the women are certainly beautiful,⁷³ only one of the Vatican manuscripts and Douai qualify it with πάνυ⁷⁴ and there is no further physical description.

⁶⁹ cf. *The Life of Melania the Younger*, tr., E. Clark (Edwin Mellen, Lewiston, 1984), 170, "the author was celebrating (Melania's) life and virtues in a popular style of literature that Christians shared with pagans".

⁷⁰ See Chapter Two, 72-73.

⁷¹ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 6. 166, θυγατέρα τινὸς τῶν μεγιστάνων.

⁷² T. Hägg (1984), 65-66.

⁷³ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 2. 40; 6. 166.

⁷⁴ Vat. gr. 808 (f. 55^r). For the Douai manuscript, not used in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition, see Halkin, F "Un Manuscrit Grec Inconnu: Le ménologe de Douai Abbey, près de Reading", *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), 51-58. Douai does not have a catalogue number since it is the only Greek manuscript in the collection.

In this way the hagiographer could create his Christianised novel without fear of disapproval. As discussed, the themes governing the romances are inverted and we shall see in Chapter Two how Galaktion and Episteme's celibate marriage contributes to this rehabilitation.

The obvious incentive and motivation for copying the *Life* would be the tale's popularity and entertainment value. However bearing in mind that *Galaktion and Episteme* is presented to the audience as a martyrdom, it is encouraging to note that two other hagiographic martyrdoms, both involving married couples, are copied at the same time; the *Life* of Timotheos and Maura (BHG 1848z)⁷⁵ and that of Adrian and Natalie (BHG 29).⁷⁶ Timotheos and Maura are present in the same menologion as *Galaktion and Episteme* and *Theoktiste*, under November 10th. The eleventh-century date of copying can thus be located within a literary revival of the ancient Greek novel and a renewed awareness and enjoyment of the texts penned by pagan novelists, given respectability by their supposed conversion to Christianity. The tale's sustained popularity ensured that it would be copied along with the martyrdoms of at least two other saintly couples - Timotheos and Maura, and Adrian and Natalie.

1.1.5 THE AUDIENCE

Galaktion and Episteme is part of a menologion, a collection of saints' *Lives* arranged by month.⁷⁷ Galaktion and Episteme died on the fifth of November and hence are included on that date.⁷⁸ These calendars were usually housed in monastic libraries and served a liturgical purpose since the *Lives* they contained

⁷⁵ See F. Halkin, "Martyre des époux Timothée et Maura, BHG 1848z", in *Hagiographica Inedita Decem*, Corpus Christianum, Series Graeca 21 (Leuven University Press, Brepols-Turnhout, 1989), 25-29.

⁷⁶ F. Halkin, "Une passion grecque inédite des saints Adrien et Natalie (BHG 29)", in *Hagiologie byzantine - textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français*, Subsidia Hagiographica 71 (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1986), 47-55.

⁷⁷ A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Texte und Untersuchungen, 3 vols (Academie Verlag, Berlin, 1936-), I, 19-25; 91-123. See also C. Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience", *DOP* 50 (1996), 314-315.

⁷⁸ For the menologion of November and December, see "Das Novembermenologium", in A. Ehrhard (1936), I, 477-509.

were intended to be read aloud to commemorate the particular saint's day. The tales were also intended for communal reading.⁷⁹ The author of Galaktion and Episteme's *Life* indicates in the first two lines of the text that he is reading/writing for a wider audience, "ἀκούσατε σήμερον...ἀγαπητοί" ('listen today, beloved) and further on he refers to monks specifically, ἀδελφοί.⁸⁰ Another indication of the tale's orality is the system of punctuation. One of the Vatican manuscripts, for example (Vat. gr. 808), places extra stress on μὲν and δὲ and there are many commas indicating pauses.⁸¹

However the *Lives* in a menologion were not only read and heard by monks but were also read out in church, to the Christian flock who not only comprised men but women. Unfortunately there is nothing in the *Life* or the manuscripts themselves to indicate more. We have no suggestion as to where the manuscripts were copied or who copied or compiled the menologia. For example, if the *Life* was found in a collection other than a menologion, then the other texts contained could point to an alternative audience. Clare Pilsworth investigated this possibility for the *Gesta martyrum*.⁸² She found that the *Life* of Cecilia, for instance, was not only transmitted in collections of saints' *Lives* and thus intended for liturgical use, but was also copied with devotional literature that would have had a wider audience.⁸³ As all the extant manuscripts containing the *Life* of Galaktion and Episteme are menologia, we cannot make further suppositions.

⁷⁹ C. Rapp (1996), 315.

⁸⁰ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 1. 12.

⁸¹ For stress on μὲν, μὴ and δὲ, see, for example ff. 54^r; 55^r; 55^v.

⁸² C. Pilsworth, "Dating The *Gesta Martyrum*: a Manuscript-Based Approach", *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (3) (2000), 309-324. She argues that a study of the earliest manuscript witnesses and their transmission provides an alternative context for the *Gesta*.

⁸³ *eadem* 318, "perhaps for personal religious education and edification (whether for that of a monk, nun, priest or wealthy pious lay person)".

1.2 JULIAN AND BASILISSA

1.2.1 THE DATE OF THE LIFE

The Greek *Life and Martyrdom* of Julian and Basilissa of Antinoopolis was edited by F. Halkin,⁸⁴ on the basis of three manuscripts dated to the tenth century. The primary manuscript, Vat. gr. 1667,⁸⁵ was collated in the first part of the edition, comprising the *Life* of both saints, with Athos, Vatopedi 84,⁸⁶ and in the second part, comprising the *Martyrdom* of Julian and his companions, with Athos, Dionysiou 143.⁸⁷ It appears that no earlier manuscripts of the Greek text survive. However an early Latin translation of the *Life and Martyrdom* is contained in a lectionary, which was discovered by J. Mabillon in the monastery of Luxeuil in France.⁸⁸ Luxeuil was the home of Columbanus' first community in Burgundy, established in the 590s.⁸⁹ Under the firm guidance of the Irish monk, the monastery with its famous scriptorium had a tremendous impact on Merovingian monasticism, emphasising asceticism and austerity.⁹⁰

Based on palaeographical evidence, E. A. Lowe demonstrated that the lectionary (Paris B. N. lat 9724)⁹¹ was written at Luxeuil in the late seventh or

⁸⁴ AB 98 (1980), 241-296.

⁸⁵ A. Ehrhard (1936-), I, 641-645; *Codices Vaticani Graeci* 1485-1683, R. Devesse, ed., (Vatican Library, 1950), 410-415.

⁸⁶ A. Ehrhard (1936-), I, 358-362.

⁸⁷ *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I, ed., S. Lampros (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1895-1900), 343; A. Ehrhard (1936-), III, 450-453.

⁸⁸ Mabillon discovered the lectionary in 1683 and published it in his *De Liturgia Gallicana* II (Paris, 1719). It is reproduced in Migne PL 74.

⁸⁹ Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I. 14, B. Krusch, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Monumentis* 4 (Bibliopolii Hahniani, Hannover, 1905). See I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (Longman, London & New York, 1994), 195-196 for confusion in the primary sources for the date of Columbanus' arrival.

⁹⁰ For Luxeuil's impact see P. Riché, "Centers of Culture in Frankish Gaul between the Sixth and Ninth Centuries" in P. Riché, ed., *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le haut moyen age* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1981), 230-233; I. Wood (1994), 191-197. For Luxeuil's importance as a scriptorium see D. Ganz, "The Luxeuil Prophets and Merovingian Missionary Strategies", in *Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts*, The Yale University Library Gazette, 66 (1991), 105-117; R. McKitterick, "The Scriptoria of Merovingian Gaul: a Survey of the Evidence", in H. Clarke and M. Brennan, eds, *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (BAR, Oxford, 1981), 177-182. For the extent of Columbanus' authority see Fredegar, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar* IV. 36, tr., J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Thomas Nelson and sons, London and New York, 1960).

⁹¹ P. Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, *Collectana Biblica Latina* 7 (Vatican City, 1944).

early eighth century⁹². Luxeuil's earliest extant manuscript has been dated to 669.⁹³ Of the nineteen Latin copies of the *Life* known to exist, the lectionary is the earliest witness. Yet it is not used in the Bollandists' edition in the *Acta Sanctorum*⁹⁴ nor is it mentioned by Traube in *Monumenta Germaniae Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*.⁹⁵ There is no doubt that the Luxeuil version of the *Life* is of great significance for the transmission of the text. For it provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *Life*. A comparison between the Greek and the Latin shows that the Latin text is an almost word-for-word translation, in contrast to the version in the *Acta Sanctorum* which has many variant readings.⁹⁶

It is important to establish the context for this Latin translation, which survives in a lectionary. A lectionary constituted a collection of readings that were read out on the appropriate day of the Church's calendar. The Pre-Nicene Calendar celebrated Sundays, the feasts of Easter and Pentecost.⁹⁷ Saints' days were added in by the second century. By the fourth century, coinciding with a growing interest in historical awareness of Christianity, the idea of celebrating the saints on their death day and in their locality became ever more popular.⁹⁸ In this period, the formalisation of the liturgical calendar (for example by organising Lent into a series of festive days) meant that the choice of New Testament passages to illustrate the text of a feast day was more or less fixed. Establishing a definitive text was important for the instruction of catechumens.⁹⁹ Surviving catecheses, however, reveal that there was flexibility between churches.¹⁰⁰

⁹² E. A. Lowe, *C. L. A V* (Oxford, 1950), 18-19; *idem* "The Script of Luxeuil: a Title Vindicated", *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1953), 132-142.

⁹³ MS. New York, Pierpoint Morgan M-334. See E. A. Lowe, *C. L. A XI*, no.1659 (Oxford, 1966).

⁹⁴ Jan 9th, 575ff.

⁹⁵ III, 1 (1886), 91ff.

⁹⁶ The same text is also found in Codex Velseri (like Luxeuil, dated to the seventh century). See B. de Gaiffier, "Source d'un texte relatif au mariage dans la vie de S. Alexis *BHL*. 289", *AB* 63 (1945), 48-55, esp. 49. See also Bibliothèque Munich, lat. 3514 cf. *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*² I. II (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1894), 99 and see notice in *AB* 29 (1910), 7.

⁹⁷ G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Dacre Press, London, 1945), 341.

⁹⁸ *idem* 348.

⁹⁹ *idem* 361.

¹⁰⁰ *idem* 361.

In the Luxeuil lectionary the *Life* of Julian and Basilissa falls during Epiphany (fol 33-72^r: *vita et passio sancti ac beatissimi Iuliani martyris*).¹⁰¹ Scholars have been undecided about the reason for the *Life*'s inclusion as the reading for the night of the vigil, on January 5th.¹⁰² The date of Julian's martyrdom is commemorated in the Greek *Synaxarion*¹⁰³ on January 8th¹⁰⁴ and June 21st.¹⁰⁵ Jerome's *martyrology* also places him on January 8th. The *Martyrologium Romanum* lists him under January 9th.¹⁰⁶ The confusion arises from the *martyrdom* where two dates are given: Julian's martyrdom happened on June 21st (ἔπαθον δὲ οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι μάρτυρες...πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν ἰουλίων 63. 10-12). This squares with one of his dates in the *Synaxarion*. We are not given another date until the final miracle of the *martyrdom* occurs. Ten lepers are healed in the Church of Julian where his relics are buried and this is said to happen ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς Ἐπιφανείας (64. 8-9). Thus the date of Julian's passion is considered to fall on the feast of Epiphany (January 6th), hence his inclusion for that particular day. Given that he is also commemorated on the 8th and 9th of January, then we might propose that Julian is venerated throughout the octave of Epiphany.

The *Life* also provides a framework for the New Testament passages chosen for this January 6th. John 2: 1-12 is the account of the Wedding at Cana. Two other lectionaries use these verses for Epiphany: the Bobbio Missal (Paris. B.N. lat. 13246), and the Wolfenbüttel Weissenbuch 76.¹⁰⁷ The passage from John's Gospel is therefore a fairly standard text to use to illustrate Epiphany, especially as it describes the first of Jesus' seven miracles. Julian and Basilissa's story falls into two clear sections: the *Life* of Julian and Basilissa (where she dies

¹⁰¹ P. Salmon (1944), 27.

¹⁰² F. Masai, "Pour quelle église fut exécuté le lectionnaire de Luxeuil?", *Scriptorium* 2 (1948), 41; P. Salmon (1944), lxxiv-lxxv; xcv-xcviii.

¹⁰³ H. Delehaye, ed., *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, (Brussels, 1902).

¹⁰⁴ ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰουλιανου καὶ Βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων

¹⁰⁵ ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰουλιανων τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τελειωθέντων. H. Delehaye et al, ed., *Martyrologium Romanum* (Brussels, 1940). Only Diocletian is listed as the persecuting emperor for this date. There is no mention of Maximianus.

¹⁰⁶ Incorrectly adding that the martyrdom occurred in Antioch.

¹⁰⁷ P. Salmon (1944), cvi.

of "natural" causes) and the *Martyrdom* of Julian and his companions. The title of the text in the lectionary does not include her name, yet the story of the couple's early life together is included. In this narrative the author describes Julian and Basilissa's decision to have a celibate marriage. Their commitment to a virginal union is celebrated by a vision of Christ Himself with Mary and tens of thousands of angels. The unqualified divine approval meeting the couple's decision, allows this illustration of the true nature of marriage to accompany the account of the Wedding at Cana.

The importance given to the text within the lectionary is also interesting. It is the only text to have a whole page devoted to its lavishly illustrated title (fol 32).¹⁰⁸ The letters sit beneath a colonnaded portico capped by three arches. There are three birds below and five lines of capitals coloured in yellow, red and green. This decoration is very similar to the illustration of the first missal of Easter in the *Missale Gothicum*.¹⁰⁹ As only Julian's name appears on the title page, many scholars believe that the lectionary was destined for a church of Julian.¹¹⁰ But which one? Julian has been confused with Julian the Hospitaler as well as with St. Julien of Brioude and St. Julien le Pauvre.

There is a clue. In 1648 workmen entered a chapel of Morigny, near Étampes, to repair the main altar and discovered a lead casket placed in a small vault beneath the altar.¹¹¹ They ran to fetch the authorities and the casket was opened. Inside lay a partial piece of a skull, an arm bone in three pieces, a vertebra bone and some powdered bone. There was also a plaque upon which was engraved the following words: *Hic iacet caput S. Juliani martiris, quod Severinus attulit de Antiochia civitate, temporibus Brunegildis Reginae*. On the reverse it read *De ossibus S. Christophori. Brachium S. Gamalielis*.

¹⁰⁸ F. Masai (1948), 41; P. Salmon (1944), xxviii.

¹⁰⁹ Both designs show an Irish influence: P. Salmon (1944), xxxviii.

¹¹⁰ F. Masai (1948) and G. Morin believed it was destined for Paris. See G. Morin, "Le lectionnaire de l'église de Paris au VIII^e siècle", *Revue Bénédictine* 10 (1893), 438-441; P. Salmon (1944) thought it was destined for Langres and C. Charlier for Clermont: C. Charlier, "Note sur les origines de l'écriture dite de Luxeuil", *RB* 63 (1948), 149-157.

¹¹¹ F. Masai (1948), 44; P. Guérin, *Les petits Bollandists: vies des saints de l'ancien et du Nouveau Testament du martyrs, des pères, des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques des vénérables et autres personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté* (Bloud et Barral, Paris, 1878, 1872-1874). See under Jan 9th.

Thus we learn that one Severinus brought Julian's relics from Antioch to Gaul but the date is not mentioned.¹¹² The confusion between Antioch and Antinoopolis as Julian's place of origin was noted in the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹¹³ Gregory of Tours also thought that Julian was from Antioch¹¹⁴ though the Greek *Life and Martyrdom* make it abundantly clear that he lived and died in Antinoopolis. After Julian is martyred on June 21st (63. 10-12), his relics are buried under the altar of the 'Great Church' (τὰ ἅγια λείψανα...ἐθαψαν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον 63. 12-14). There is no mention of such a church in the papyri of Antinoopolis. The burial could not have taken place immediately given that it was still a time of persecution. If the date of Julian's passion is considered to be on Epiphany, the narrative thus suggests that the relics could have been transferred from Antinoopolis to Antioch where they were finally buried. Thus Julian was martyred on June 21st in Antinoopolis and buried in Antioch during Epiphany.¹¹⁵ The inscription found with the relics further indicates that part of Julian's body was taken to Antioch.

From Syria, Julian's relics were then brought to Gaul during the reign of Queen Brunhild. She was a Visigothic princess who married King Sigibert of France in the late 560s. She was executed in 613 after a very active political career.¹¹⁶ The inscription found with the relics suggests that Brunhild donated them to the church of Morigny, a foundation she is said to have established.¹¹⁷ The Chronicle of Morigny (1095-1152) relates that in its earliest years a church of St. Julian was given to Morigny: *ecclesiam Sancti Juliani, ubi antea fuerat abbatia sanctimonialium, dedit nobis Emmauricus, Stanpensis oppidanus, vir egregius, filiis suis*

¹¹² Severinus was probably a bishop.

¹¹³ AASS. Jan 1: 571.

¹¹⁴ Gregory of Tours notes, "the two great cities of Antioch in Egypt and Apamea in Syria were captured by the Persians and their people were led into slavery (AD 572/73). It was then at that time that the Church of Saint Julian, the martyr of Antioch, was burnt down", Gregory Of Tours, *The History of the Franks* iv. 40, tr., L. Thorpe (Penguin, London, 1974).

¹¹⁵ I am very grateful to Charlotte Roueché for this suggestion.

¹¹⁶ I. Wood (1994), 126-136; J. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History", reprinted in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (Hambleton Press, London Ronceverte, W. Va, 1986).

¹¹⁷ Dom B. Fleureau *Les antiquitéz de la ville et du duché d'Estampes* (Paris, 1683), chs. ix-x, states explicitly that Brunhild established "une petite abbaye de Religieuses" nearby which included a chapel of Saint Julian.

et (fol 63) *uxore concedentibus; quam multi monachi, etiam data multa pecunia, voluerunt nobis subripere, sed, gracia Dei, non potuerunt prevalere.*¹¹⁸ We then learn that it was *prope turrim Brunchildis sitam.*¹¹⁹ Emmauricus is unknown and though Brunhild is not specifically associated with the relics in this narrative, Julian's church is definitely part of her foundation at Morigny and situated near her tower.

Brunhild is also said to have donated part of Julian's skull to a church of the "chanoinesses régulières" of Saint Basilissa at Paris,¹²⁰ providing further confirmation of the close association of the two saints.

Thus the prominence given to the *Life* in the lectionary indicates that the book was intended for a church or abbey of Julian. The discovery of the relics means that the church belonging to Morigny was the likely destination of the Luxeuil lectionary.¹²¹ The findings at Morigny also mean that the relics of Saint Julian can be located in a certain area of Merovingian Gaul at a certain time, namely Brunhild's lifetime. Perhaps one further step can be made, to link the relics to the Latin translation of the *Life*.

The lectionary is also a very important witness for the study of the transmission of the Vulgate as it contains several lessons from the Old and New Testaments. If the various manuscripts of the Vulgate¹²² are grouped into families and compared with the Luxeuil texts, one result dominates over all the others: a very close relationship between Luxeuil and the group of Spanish manuscripts.¹²³ For the Old Testament there is not a great affinity but nevertheless more than with the other manuscripts.¹²⁴ If the text of Isaiah is used

¹¹⁸ L. Mirot, *La Chronique de Morigny (1095-1152)* (Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, Paris, 1909), I. 3.

¹¹⁹ L. Mirot (1909), II. 3, 12; B. Fleureau (1683), ch. ix.

¹²⁰ P. Guérin (1878), Jan 9th. Also P. Piolin, *Supplément aux vies des saints et spécialement aux petits Bollandists: d'après les documents hagiographiques les plus authentiques et les plus récents* (Blond et Barral, Paris, 1885-1903). The church is not mentioned in the extensive list produced by Beaunier in *La France monastique: recueil historique des archevêchés, évêchés, abbayes et prieurés de France I: Province ecclésiastique de Paris* (Ligugé, Abbaye Saint-Martin, Paris, 1905).

¹²¹ F. Masai (1948), 43ff also linked the relics to the *Life* in the lectionary.

¹²² Using Jerome's edition: A. Gasquet, ed., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Latinam Vulgatum Versionem a d Codicum Fidem Iussu Pii PP. XI* (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Rome, 1926-).

¹²³ P. Salmon (1944), lvi.

¹²⁴ *idem* lvi-lvii.

as a control,¹²⁵ then from 20 readings of "témoins rares", Luxeuil is found to be similar to the Spanish group no less than ten times. Salmon concluded that the "biblical text of the Old Testament used by the Luxeuil lectionary is of the Vulgate, apparently of the group of Spanish manuscripts and of a remarkable quality".¹²⁶ The same results appear with the New Testament readings; when a study of Acts is undertaken, yet again the Spanish group is seen as closest to Luxeuil.¹²⁷

The Spanish provenance of the lectionary could be associated with Brunhild. She was a Visigothic princess and according to Gregory of Tours, relations were maintained between Spain and Gaul.¹²⁸ Thus it is entirely possible that the removal of Julian's relics from Syria to Gaul instigated the translation of his *Life* into Latin.¹²⁹ The fact that when Columbanus, the founder of the Luxeuil monastery, arrived in Gaul in the 590s, his patron was none other than Brunhild's son, Childebert, shows the close links between Brunhild and the monastery.¹³⁰ Luxeuil was also one of the most prominent scriptoria of the period.¹³¹ Although the Queen died in 613 and the lectionary has been dated to the late seventh century, the translation of the text could have been commissioned subsequently, not as a direct result of Brunhild's own personal experience but by someone in her entourage. If this notion is considered, then it raises interesting questions concerning Spain as an important intermediary for the transmission of eastern texts to the west.¹³²

¹²⁵ *idem* lvii.

¹²⁶ *idem* lxi.

¹²⁷ *idem* lxviiff.

¹²⁸ A representative of Brunhild is sent "on a mission to Spain to attend to the affairs of Queen Brunhild" (v. 1); "Queen Brunhild had a great salver of incredible size made out of gold and precious gems. This she dispatched to the king in Spain, together with a pair of wooden dishes, commonly called basins, which were decorated with gold and jewels. She entrusted the commission to Ebregisel, for he had often been sent on missions to Spain", [my underlining] (ix.28). Gregory Of Tours *The History of the Franks*. P. Salmon suggests that the cult of Saint Julian arrived in Gaul through Spain via Brunhild, see *Lectionnaire* (1944), lxxvi.

¹²⁹ Or a copy made from an earlier translation. At present, Luxeuil is the earliest extant version we have in Latin.

¹³⁰ J. Nelson (1986), 28.

¹³¹ See note 90.

¹³² J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987), 232-249, esp. 246, has noted the "importance of Spain in the transmission of eastern material to Ireland and thence to Northumbria eventually to become an established feature of the English church".

Thus the Luxeuil lectionary plays a very important part in joining the various strands of the later history of the *Life and Martyrdom* of Julian and Basilissa. First, it provides a *terminus ante quem* of the late seventh century for the tenth-century Greek text. The discovery of the relics brings the date further back to the time of Queen Brunhild, the early sixth-century. Secondly, the accompanying inscription helps to elucidate the confusion over Antioch and Antinoopolis. Thirdly, the prominence of the narrative within the lectionary indicates that the book was intended for a church of Julian. The discovery of the relics suggests that Morigny was the ultimate destination. Why the lectionary was found at Luxeuil and not Morigny is uncertain. Perhaps it never reached its destination or it was returned to Luxeuil before the Morigny church was destroyed. Fourthly, it can be postulated that at some level, Queen Brunhild played a very important rôle in the transmission of the text. Julian's relics were transferred to Gaul during her reign and eventually re-discovered in one of her churches. Brunhild had close links with Luxeuil and she maintained connections with her homeland of Spain. The Spanish nature of the lectionary indicates that though the liturgical book was composed after her death, the links she had established may well have stimulated the Latin translation of the *Life and Martyrdom*. Above all, the Luxeuil lectionary exemplifies the importance of western witnesses in the transmission of eastern texts in the late seventh-century, illustrating clearly that the two halves of the Empire cannot be separated when we consider how texts were diffused throughout the Byzantine world. Luxeuil exemplifies an interaction that continues right up to the fifteenth century.

A sixth-century *terminus ante quem* can be further supported by Venantius Fortunatus' (d. c. 600) inclusion of Basilissa in his lists of virgins and martyrs.¹³³ Adaptations were also made by Aldhelm (d. 709) in his prose¹³⁴ and poetical versions of *de virginate*.¹³⁵

¹³³ *Carmina* VIII 3. 35.

¹³⁴ "The virginal glory of the martyr Julian", M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Rowman & Littlefield, England, 1979), xxxvi.

¹³⁵ M. Lapidge and J. Rosier, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (D. S Brewer, Cambridge, 1985).

The date can also be substantiated from within the text. The prominence given to Mary in chapter six is noticeable and a feature of the sixth century.¹³⁶ Throughout this period there is "a steady development of the liturgical feasts of the Virgin, now increasingly differentiated, and towards the end of the period the adoption of the Assumption as a feast of the Eastern church, to be celebrated on 15 August of each year".¹³⁷

1.2.2 THE AUDIENCE

Julian and Basilissa could have been written for either a monastic or a lay audience. Compared with *Galaktion and Episteme* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* there is far more emphasis on Christian teaching and instruction.¹³⁸ The doctrine of the Trinity is expounded at length several times. Correct religious procedure is emphasised, for example, a priest is needed to perform the baptisms. The author creates an entire sub-plot involving the seven brothers and Antonios the priest so that the newly converted Markianilla and the guards can be baptised by a recognised authority, just as Valerian and his brother Tiburtius in *Cecilia* are baptised by bishop St. Urban. This is in direct contrast with the later *Galaktion and Episteme*, where it seems that anyone can baptise. Galaktion tells his betrothed that since the priests have fled the city, he can baptise her and this he duly does.

The appearance of a Latin translation of the text in the Luxeuil lectionary indicates that this *Life* was meaningful for audiences, whether monastic or lay, in both the Eastern and Western empires. However the transference of Julian's relics from Antioch to Gaul initiated the translation of a *Life* that was obviously

¹³⁶Averil Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: a City finds its Symbol", *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978), 79-108, esp. 80, "Between the middle of the fifth century, then, and the crisis of the year 626, the Virgin came to assume a dominant - perhaps the dominant - place in the religious life of the city." See also C. Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis" in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed., M. Vassilaki (Skira, Milan, 2000), 17-25. For the Theotokos as symbol of angelic virginity, see Averil Cameron, "The Early Cult of the Virgin", in *eadem*, 7-8.

¹³⁷ A. Cameron (1978), 95. Also 95, nt. 4. The notion of Mary as the queen of heaven is reflected in the text: *Julian and Basilissa* 7. 7-11 (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρους ἀναρίθμητα πλήθη παρθένων, ὧν τὰ πρωτεῖα ἡ ἑνδοξος Μαρία ἡ παρθένος ἐκράτει...Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῆς βασιλίσσης ἐκράζετο· Μακαρία εἶ, Βασίλισσα...).

¹³⁸ See *Julian and Basilissa* 10-12. With specific reference to Basilissa, chs. 13-14.

considered important to monastic audiences.¹³⁹ The fact that the story was copied into a lectionary further substantiates its liturgical nature and purpose.

1.3 ANDRONIKOS AND ATHANASIA

1.3.1 THE DANIEL CYCLE AND THE DATE OF THE TEXT

The story of Andronikos and Athanasia has been traditionally ascribed to the 'Daniel Cycle'; a cycle comprising spiritually edifying tales that were allegedly narrated by the sixth-century Abba Daniel of Sketis to his disciples. They are: "The monk surprised by demons in a tomb", "Anastasia *patrikia*", "Mark the Fool", "The Saint who begged", "Thomaïs the Chaste", "The monk who was tempted", "The Nun who was thought to be drunk", "How Abba Daniel expiated a murder which he committed", "Eulogius the Quarry-man", "The monk falsely accused of theft", "The sinful woman who was penitent" and "Andronikos the banker and his wife Athanasia".¹⁴⁰

The popularity of these tales is evident. They were translated from the original Greek into Syriac, Arabic, Coptic and Ethiopic.¹⁴¹ Clugnet believed that the Syriac and Arabic versions displayed enough similarities to form one group whilst the Coptic and Ethiopic formed the other.¹⁴² From Clugnet's list of extant manuscripts, it can be seen that the tale of Andronikos and Athanasia was a particular favourite. Amongst the surviving translations is a thirteenth-century Syriac manuscript¹⁴³ and an eighteenth-century Ethiopic manuscript;¹⁴⁴ the late dates attesting to the *Life's* popularity.

The vexed question amongst scholars concerns the true identity of Abba Daniel himself. Clugnet claims that the date of the story of Andronikos and

¹³⁹ P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (SCM Press Ltd, London, 1981), 1-49.

¹⁴⁰ P. van Cauwenberg, *Etude sur les moines d'Égypte* (Paris, 1914), 12-22.

¹⁴¹ See L. Clugnet, "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété", *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* 6 (1901), 85-87, for a list of surviving manuscripts.

¹⁴² *idem* 81.

¹⁴³ BM add. Syriac 235. See also L. Clugnet (1901), 86.

¹⁴⁴ Bib. Nat. 126. See also L. Clugnet (1901), 86.

Athanasia is sixth century, predicated on the mention of Daniel of Sketis who was alive in this period.¹⁴⁵ He uses as evidence P. Bib. Nat. Coislin 283 (eleventh century) which has an overall title for the entire collection of stories: τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄββαν Δανιήλ. The Greek is also present in PG 115, 1049-1054. The first tale begins, "Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως", a popular claim for many narratives claiming authenticity. Theodosius the Great belongs to the fourth century (379-395). Clugnet is dismissive, stating that since neither the Syriac, Arabic, Coptic nor Ethiopic versions have this incipit, the transcriber inserted the line to tally with his own personal belief in a fourth-century date. However Delehayé later discovered two Greek manuscripts with this very incipit: Ott. gr. 92¹⁴⁶ and Vindob. Hist. gr. 3 fol. 11¹⁴⁷ (both eleventh century).

Problems also arise from two other stories, 'The sinful woman who was penitent' and the tale of the 'demented religious woman'. In these tales Daniel is not the narrator. Thus doubt is cast on the authorship of the spiritually edifying tales and hence uncertainty as to whether they actually form a narrative cycle. Moreover this adds to the complication over their date of composition. There is especial uncertainty over the *Life* of Andronikos and Athanasia, given the puzzling incipit.

Abba Daniels are numerous, especially in the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The two most famous apart from Daniel of Sketis are Abba Daniel, the disciple of St. Paphnoutios who died at the end of the fourth century and the Abba Daniel who was the disciple of Abba Arsenios, St. Cyril's contemporary, who died in 444.¹⁴⁸ Goldschmidt and Pereira, the editors of the Ethiopic texts, proposed the amalgamation of various Daniels.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore van Cauwenberg notes that the number of stories attributed to Daniel varies amongst the manuscripts, despite their accepted status as one cohesive

¹⁴⁵ L. Clugnet in *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* 5 (1900), 71-73; *idem* (1901), 60-62.

¹⁴⁶ E. Feron and F. Battaglini, eds, *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (ex typographeo Vaticano, Rome, 1893).

¹⁴⁷ H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek I* (Georg Prachner Verlag, Wien, 1961).

¹⁴⁸ L. Clugnet (1901), 56.

¹⁴⁹ L. Goldschmidt and F. M. Esteves Pereira, *Vida do Abba Daniel do mosteiro de Sceté* (Lisbon, 1897), viii. See also "Bulletin de publications hagiographiques" in *AB* 17 (1898), 367.

biography of Daniel.¹⁵⁰ He also observes that the tales' genre, which includes the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and *The Lausiak History*, is non-specific, easily allowing for confusion between characters.¹⁵¹ Van Cauwenberg adds that the Syriac and Arabic versions are not biographies. "The Greek original is not actually a biography but a collection of anecdotes without cohesion, all attributed (with one exception) to Daniel himself. However the Coptic and Ethiopic texts give us the biography in its own right".¹⁵² There is a clear format to the texts that outlines the events of Daniel's life, followed by the tales.

Be that as it may, it is clear that in all three versions of *Andronikos and Athanasia* discussed in Appendix One, Daniel is clearly meant to be the sixth-century Daniel of Sketis, whatever earlier or later redactions state. Similarities between *Andronikos and Athanasia* and the other accounts in the collection indicate that the author intended the story to be part of the cycle. There is a thematic link in the tale of Mark the Fool when Mark dies. His funeral is very similar to the account of Athanasia's: καὶ ἀνέβη πᾶσα ἡ Σκήτη ἄσπρα φοροῦντες μετὰ κλάδων καὶ βαίων, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ Ἑνατον καὶ τὰ κελλία, καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νητρίας, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ λαῦραι αἱ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν...¹⁵³ compared with the story of Andronikos and Athanasia in P. Bib. Nat. Coislin 283, from which these stories are taken: ὁ γέρων ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σκήτῃ πατέρας καὶ τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον, καὶ ἦλθον πᾶσαι αἱ λαῦραι Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνῆλθεν καὶ οἱ Σκητιῶται ἀσπροφοροῦντες, οὕτως γάρ ἐστιν τὸ ἔθος, μετὰ κλάδων...¹⁵⁴ Likewise, in the tale of 'Thomaïs the Chaste', we are told that there is discontent over the burial of a body just as there was in 'Andronikos and Athanasia' after Andronikos' death. In 'Thomaïs' case the monks of Oktokaidekaton are involved once again, as they are reluctant to allow Thomaïs to be buried in their cemetery. As in our story, Daniel intervenes and wins (τότε

¹⁵⁰ P. van Cauwenberg (1914), 25.

¹⁵¹ *idem* 25.

¹⁵² *idem* 27.

¹⁵³ L. Clugnet, "Marc le fou", 61, lines 26-28.

¹⁵⁴ L. Clugnet, "L'orfèvre Andronicus et son épouse Athanasie", 379, lines 18-21.

λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς ἤναντίωθη τῷ γέροντι).¹⁵⁵ She is finally laid to rest μετὰ τῶν πατέρων.¹⁵⁶

An instance where key phrases are repeated occurs in Mark the Fool. The episode where Daniel meets Mark is an event that triggers the rest of the story and is ascribed κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ.¹⁵⁷ This is the same phrase used when Andronikos and Athanasia meet up again after their twelve-year separation. Another example appears in 'the nun who was thought to be drunk'.

Oktokaidekaton is specifically named in four other stories, (Thomaïs the Chaste, Mark the Fool, the Monk who was tempted and Anastasia *patrikia*), when Pempton, Ennaton or even Nitria could have been chosen as venues for the ensuing dramas. Thus there are distinct similarities between *Andronikos and Athanasia* and the other tales traditionally assigned to the cycle, which indicate that the author wished to associate *Andronikos and Athanasia* with the group.

From this evidence, there is no reason to doubt the location of *Andronikos and Athanasia* in the tradition of the desert fathers and the milieu of the sixth century.

1.4 COMPARING THE THREE SAINTS' LIVES

The translation of the *Life* of Julian and Basilissa into Latin is just one example of the appeal Greek saint's *Lives* and edifying tales had for Western audiences in general.¹⁵⁸ The dissemination of the literature spread quickly. Athanasios, in the *Life of Antony*, wrote in astonishment, "how was it that he was heard of, though concealed and sitting in a mountain, in Spain and Gaul and in Rome and Africa?"¹⁵⁹

The charm of these edifying tales resulted in their proliferation throughout the Empire and, as stated above, produced a literary revival in the

¹⁵⁵ L. Clugnet, "La chaste Thomaïs", 65, line 8.

¹⁵⁶ *idem* 65, line 9.

¹⁵⁷ L. Clugnet, "Marc le fou", 60, line 22.

¹⁵⁸ D. Burton-Christie, *The Word In The Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993), 7. See also 8-9 for the importance of St. Benedict in maintaining their popularity in the West.

¹⁵⁹ Athanasius, *Vita Sancti Antonii*, ed., G. J. M. Bartellink (Cerf, Paris, 1994), 93. See also Augustine, *Confessions*, tr., R. S. Pine-Coffin (Penguin, Middlesex, 1961), 8.6.

tenth century in the form of the tales of Bishop Paul of Monembasia.¹⁶⁰ These stories had a pedigree going back to the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*,¹⁶¹ Palladios' fifth-century *Historia Lausiaca*¹⁶² and of course, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*¹⁶³. The tradition continued with the stories of Abba Daniel of Sketis in the sixth century, up to the seventh century with the tales of John Moschos contained within the *Pratum Spirituale*,¹⁶⁴ and the sayings of Anastasios the Sinaïte.¹⁶⁵ Halkin noted that Paul's stories, have an almost dream-like feel to them, with no fixed date or location.¹⁶⁶ All these tales can be termed "spiritually beneficial stories", a sub group (*narrationes animae utiles*) within hagiography, identified by the Bollandists.¹⁶⁷ What is interesting is that *Galaktion and Episteme* is also described by its author as such, a "διήγησις...χρήσιμος ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς", a narration...beneficial for your souls (1. 1-2), or τὴν ψυχωφελῆ ἱστορίαν (1. 17-18). The *Life* of Galaktion and Episteme can be placed therefore into this sub-genre. In keeping with Halkin's point, there is no firm context for the narration. As already established from the lack of information in the text, the date is vague, we know that it is an era of Christian persecution but we do not know which one. We have no historical characters or events to pin the date down.

A second point is that the very first word of *Galaktion and Episteme* is "διήγησιν", "narration" or "account". The διήγησις often evolved from an

¹⁶⁰ J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs*, Sources d'histoire médiévale (CNRS, Paris, 1987); *idem* (1996).

¹⁶¹ A.-J. Festugière, ed., *Historia Monachorum In Aegypto*, Subsidia Hagiographica 34 (Brussels, 1961).

¹⁶² Palladius, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, tr., W. K. Lowther Clarke (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, 1918).

¹⁶³ For an overview of this literature enduring "in a special way as classics of Eastern Christianity", see D. Burton-Christie (1993), 9-10. See also G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), 4.

¹⁶⁴ John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, tr., J. Wortley (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1987).

¹⁶⁵ J. Wortley (1996), 25-36.

¹⁶⁶ F. Halkin, "La vision de Kaïoumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou (BHG 1322w)", *AB* 63 (1945), 56-64, esp. 56.

¹⁶⁷ H. Delehaye, "Un groupe de récits 'utiles à l'âme'" in *Mélanges Bidez*, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales II (Brussels, 1934), 255-266, esp. 257, reprinted in *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecques et latines*, Subsidia Hagiographica 42 (Brussels, 1966), 384-393. See also J. Wortley (1987), 17.

expansion of an Abba's or Amma's maxim.¹⁶⁸ The *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, or the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, were tales, or more often, pithy sentences, resulting from the daily situations confronting the hermits of Lower Egypt as they battled human weaknesses such as avarice¹⁶⁹, temptation¹⁷⁰ or the evils of fornication.¹⁷¹ The tales are thus edifying and convey a simple spiritual message. They have an uncomplicated structure allowing the listener to grasp the central moral without literary distraction.¹⁷² Claudia Rapp has ably demonstrated the importance of this term within Late Antique and Byzantine literature, particularly in hagiography.¹⁷³ This form of material had its origins in the sayings of the Desert Fathers¹⁷⁴ and was based on eyewitness accounts.¹⁷⁵ Both *Galaktion and Episteme* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* fall into these generic categories. *Galaktion and Episteme* is self-styled a βίος (in the title) and a διήγησις (as its first word). Claudia Rapp further noted a distinction between βίος and διήγησις. The former is a saintly narrative, the latter signals an edifying tale that is presented as true.¹⁷⁶ Thus we are prepared not only for a saint's *Life* but, like *Andronikos and Athanasia*, an edifying tale. The story of *Galaktion and Episteme* thus agrees with Rapp's definitions of a διήγησις as well as Delehaye's and Halkin's descriptions of a *narrationes animae utiles*: the narrative is an eye witness account, it is very simply told and the focus is on direct contact, direct emotion, with the listener/reader.

Andronikos and Athanasia firmly belongs to the milieu of the *Apophthegmata* and its counterparts in terms of content. The locations mentioned in the literature are there: Sketis, Tabennesi and Oktokaidekaton. As already noted, the tale belongs to the collection ascribed to Abba Daniel of Sketis. We have the enclosed

¹⁶⁸ D. Burton-Christie (1993), 90-91.

¹⁶⁹ *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, tr., B. Ward, eg. Gelasios, no. 3.

¹⁷⁰ *eadem* e.g. John the Eunuch, no. 90; Macarius the Great, no. 3.

¹⁷¹ D. Burton-Christie (1993), 77. For the history and a textual analysis of the *Apophthegmata*, see also G. Gould (1993), 5-9; for its geographical origins and the text's relation to its community, see 9-17.

¹⁷² C. Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: the Use of 'Diegesis'", *J ECS* 6 (3) (1998), 431-448, esp. 437-438.

¹⁷³ C. Rapp (1998), 431-448; J. Wortley, (1996), 25.

¹⁷⁴ C. Rapp (1998), 434-436.

¹⁷⁵ *eadem* 434-435; 439-440.

¹⁷⁶ *eadem* 436-437.

eremitic world of the Desert and the harsh existence of the men and women who chose to attain their “σκόπος” in this manner.¹⁷⁷

What *Galaktion and Episteme* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* also have in common is that both authors have attempted to lift the *Lives* into a higher level of narrative. As discussed above, *Galaktion and Episteme* is a Christianised novel. The version of *Andronikos and Athanasia* used in this thesis (version C) is a far fuller text in terms of description of human motivation and emotion, than in the other two recensions (version A is Paris. Bib. Nat. gr, Coislin 283¹⁷⁸ and version B is Paris Bib. Nat. gr. 1598).¹⁷⁹ A full comparison of all three versions is made in Appendix One.

C differs from A and B in three fundamental ways. The first is that it is a far more expressive account. Secondly, C contains certain elements of the traditional saints' *Life*, that is, where supernatural powers are taken for granted and understood as such. For example, in versions A and B, when St. Julian appears to Athanasia after her children's funeral, he asks her why she is crying (B: τί οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων κλαίεις;). In C, he already knows (τίνος χάριν ὦ γύναι ἄκαιρά τε καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητα βούλει θρηνεῖν; οὐκ οἶδας ὡς θνητὴ οὔσα θνητοὺς παῖδας γεγέννηκας; 'For whose sake, woman, do you wish to grieve, untimely and inconsolably? Do you not know that being mortal you have given birth to mortal children?'). Further on in the story, when Andronikos and Athanasia meet again as strangers and decide to live together, Andronikos asks Daniel for his blessing. C expressly states that Daniel “surely” knows that the monk whom Andronikos has met, is Athanasia (οὐκ ἀγνοῶν δήπου τὰ κατὰ τὴν μακαρίαν Ἀθανασίαν). The saintly person as an omniscient being is a recurring element in C. This reaches its zenith when Athanasia is attributed the gift of prophecy as she is dying (προαγορεύει προφητικώτατα). As Father Athanasios she has achieved her σκόπος, she has lived an ascetic life and most remarkable of all, never revealed

¹⁷⁷ When Andronikos first meets Athanasia in the desert after their twelve-year separation, he cannot recognise her because her “face was so sunburnt and worn by suffering.”

¹⁷⁸ ff. 291^v-295, (C11th), [BHG 122].

¹⁷⁹ ff. 247^v-252, (C10th, copied in 993), [BHG 121].



her true identity to her husband. She has achieved sanctity and this is given outward recognition by her ability to prophesy.

The third element unique to C is authorial asides. The prologue contains little comments such as ὥς που φησὶν or ἄχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς which reminds the reader/listener that we are listening to an account. The author's most personal voice is heard when he describes Athanasia's reaction to her children's untimely death. It is not at all surprising, he declares, that a mother should feel such distress; it is her nature: σπλάγχνοις τοῖς μητρικοῖς ἐκάμπτετο καὶ αὐταῖς δῆπου ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῆς φύσεως 'she was nevertheless broken by maternal love and indeed, by necessity of nature'.

Version C thus attempts to lift the original "spiritually edifying tale" into the higher-level saint's *Life*. In comparison with the barer A and B, the self-titled Βίος καὶ πολιτεία provides a prologue to cover the absence of the protagonists' childhood, includes elements of the supernatural and has a more personal feel to the narrative. The combination of all these elements results in a text rich in characterisation.

Where *Galaktion and Episteme* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* differ is in terms of language. The literary level of *Galaktion and Episteme* is not high. For example, there are no allusions to classical authors as in comparative material such as *Theoktiste*. The language is a mixture of koine and middle Byzantine Greek. However an analysis of language would not be that helpful since many authors of this period adopt a classicising style, deliberately atticising nouns in order to create a higher level of prose style; Attaliates and Anna Komnena being the most obvious examples.

Version C of *Andronikos and Athanasia* is a more complex text. This pre-metaphrastic recension was copied in the tenth/eleventh century though it should be noted that the text is contained within a metaphrastic manuscript.¹⁸⁰ However Clugnet's two versions, A and B, like *Galaktion and Episteme* are far

¹⁸⁰ A.-C Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Franzoniana, Genova (Urbani 21-40)*, Supplemento n. 17 in *Bollettino dei Classici* (Accademia Nazionale, Lincei, 1996), 164.

more simply told and correspond to the style of the edifying tale. I propose therefore that *Andronikos and Athanasia* had its origins in material such as the *Apophthegmata*. The text then evolved, developing and adapting its style and content to current literary interests. A similar situation can also be hypothesised for *Galaktion and Episteme*, though we have no earlier version for comparison.

Julian and Basilissa clearly belongs to a different genre. Like *Andronikos and Athanasia*, the narrative is located in Egypt and was presumably composed at the same time, but what we have instead is an urban religious setting. Placing *Julian and Basilissa* within a sixth-century literary tradition would help clarify the question of why the *Life* was written. B. de Gaiffier locates *Julian and Basilissa* within a chronological framework of tales of conjugal chastity.¹⁸¹ These start from the *Acts of Thomas* and reach the fifteenth century with the tale of St. Bernard of Montjoux. Of particular interest to us are the tales he identified as being composed prior to *Julian and Basilissa*. These are the *Acts of Thomas*, the stories of Amoun of Nitria; Cecilia and finally Theophilus and Maria.

Chastity is a prominent feature of the Apocryphal Acts, though Kate Cooper has identified "enkrateia" as being the main issue rather than "sophrosyne".¹⁸² In the *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle discourses on the union of the Church with Christ her bridegroom, during the wedding feast of a ruler's daughter.¹⁸³ The king of Sandaruk demands that the apostle pray for his daughter. We have a scene in the nuptial chamber where Christ appears in the likeness of Judas Thomas and discourses on the wonders of virginity, persuading the newly-weds of the principles of a celibate life.¹⁸⁴ De Gaiffier situates the text within an early Christian world of extreme asceticism. He isolated two examples

¹⁸¹ B. de Gaiffier, "Intactam Sponsam Relinquens: à propos de la vie de S. Aléxis", *AB* 65 (1947), 157-195, esp 164-184.

¹⁸² K. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., London, 1996), 45-67, esp. 56.

¹⁸³ *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha II: Acta Thomas*, eds, R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (G. Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim, 1903), chs. 11-14, 115ff. See also B. de Gaiffier (1947), 165.

¹⁸⁴ ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπαλλαγῇτε τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς κοινωνίας ταύτης, γίνεσθε ναοὶ ἅγιοι, καθαροί...ἐὰν δὲ πεισθῇτε καὶ τηρήσητε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἀγνὰς τῷ Θεῷ, γενήσονται ὑμῖν παῖδες ζῶντες ὧν αἱ βλάβαι αὐταὶ οὐ θιγγάνουσιν (if you free your souls from this filthy intercourse you become pure temples...but if you are persuaded by me and keep purely unto God, you shall have living children, whom these blemishes do not touch...), R. A. Lipsius, II. 2 (1903), 115ff.

of marital chastity, one "actual", the *Life of Melania*¹⁸⁵ and the other one referred to in Augustine's *Confessions*: two of the emperor's officials are inspired by the *life of Antony* whereupon "habebant ambo sponas: quae postea quam hoc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipsae virginitatem tibi".¹⁸⁶ Following on from the Apocryphal Acts, de Gaiffier leads us to the stories of the Desert Fathers.¹⁸⁷ Amoun of Nitria is forced into marriage but persuades his wife to live a married life of continence. After several years she eventually realises that she is a potential temptation to him and suggests that they live apart.

The next story is of the mimes Theophilos and Maria, narrated by John of Ephesus (d. 586).¹⁸⁸ John hears the story from one John of Amida, who himself leads a life of chastity with his wife. Though outwardly vulgar and debauched, Theophilos and Maria lead a continent life. They are the only children of wealthy and renowned families who, after their parents' death, sell all their possessions. Their life of asceticism was imposed on them by a mysterious monk called Procopios.

When considering *Julian and Basilissa's* literary ancestors, the story of *Cecilia* is of most interest as there are many parallels. The following summary only relates the first half of the story, that which pertains most to *Julian and Basilissa*. Cecilia is a pure-minded virgin, whose ascetic determination is illustrated by the hair shirt she wears under her clothes. Born into a noble and wealthy family, she is forced to make an advantageous alliance with Valerian. On her wedding night she tells her young husband that she must keep her virginity or else an angel will kill him. He wishes to see the angel so Cecilia instructs Valerian to be baptised, sending him out onto the Appian Way. There, hidden amongst the poor, he finds the bishop, St. Urban. Valerian receives baptism and sees an angel who bids him read the declaration of the Trinity from a tablet. Clad in white the young bridegroom returns to Cecilia to find her in their bedroom in

¹⁸⁵ *Melania* is given a fuller discussion later in this section and in Chapter Two, 71; 98.

¹⁸⁶ B. de Gaiffier (1947), 166 citing *Confessions* I. 8, 6, ch. 15.

¹⁸⁷ Amoun of Nitria's tale is discussed more fully in the following chapter with reference to *Andronikos and Athanasia*.

¹⁸⁸ *Commentarii de beatis orientalibus*, ch. 52; B. de Gaiffier (1947), 171-172.

the radiant presence of an angel. The heavenly being is holding one crown of roses and one of lilies. Husband and wife each receive a crown. The next twist in the tale is introduced by Valerian's brother, Tiburtius. When he visits the couple, he is told about the revelatory events of their wedding night. He also wants to see the angel so Cecilia delivers an impromptu sermon on idolatry and the superiority of the afterlife and she talks of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Tiburtius is persuaded and is eventually baptised by the same bishop.¹⁸⁹

There are eight key points in the stories of *Cecilia* and *Julian and Basilissa* where the narratives display marked similarities. Some are common in hagiography but will be noted for completeness. Firstly, there is the common pressure exerted by the protagonist's parents on the child to marry: "parentum enim tanta vis et sponsi circa illam erat exaestuans, ut non posset amorem sui cordis ostendere, et quod solum Christum diligeret indicis evidentibus aperire nolebat".¹⁹⁰ Secondly, Cecilia, like Julian, fasts and prays that she may keep her virginity: "non diebus, non noctibus a colloquiis divinis et oratione cessabat".¹⁹¹ Thirdly it is noticeable that in *Cecilia*, as in *Julian and Basilissa* (and unlike *Galaktion and Episteme*), there is a need to have a priest, an approved member of the church to baptise the uninitiated. Valerian is baptised by the bishop St. Urban.¹⁹² The fourth point is that during Valerian's baptism, an old man appears, dressed in white. He holds a tablet on which is written in letters of gold: "subito ante faciem ipsorum apparuit senior niveis vestibus indutus, tenens titulum in manibus, aureis literis scriptum".¹⁹³ In *Julian and Basilissa*, after the couple have been praised for deciding to remain virgin, an angel dressed in white, steps forward, "et tenentes eis manus adplecuerunt eos; et ecce superpositus erat liber splendor septies argento, litteris aureis scriptus".¹⁹⁴ Fifthly, as in *Julian and Basilissa*, the angel asks Valerian to read what is written on the tablet, "lege huius

¹⁸⁹ H. Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romaine: les saints de novembre et décembre*, Subsidia Hagiographica 23 (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1936), 75-76.

¹⁹⁰ *idem* 196, ch. 3.

¹⁹¹ *idem* 196, ch. 3.

¹⁹² *idem* 198, ch. 6.

¹⁹³ *idem* 196, ch. 4.

¹⁹⁴ I use the Latin transcription by Salmon (1944) in the Luxeuil lectionary.

libri textum et crede...et videre angelum cuius tibi aspectum Caecilia virgo devotissima repromisit".¹⁹⁵ The sixth point is that on Valerian's return, he finds Cecilia praying in their chamber accompanied by an angel who is holding two brilliant crowns, one white with lilies and one crimson with roses: "duas coronas ferentem in manibus coruscantes rosis et liliis albescentes quique unam dedit Caeciliae et alteram Valeriano dicens 'istas coronas immaculato corde et mundo corpore custodite, quia de paradiso Dei eas ad vos attuli'..."¹⁹⁶ The seventh point occurs in *Julian and Basilissa* the young bride smells the scent of lilies and roses in her bedchamber. The angels present one crown to them, an act that echoes the marriage ceremony and foreshadows martyrdom. Lastly, just as Basilissa is overcome by the scent of lilies and roses, so is Valerian's brother, Tiburtius: "miror hoc tempore roseus hic odor et liliorum unde respiret? Nam si tenerem ipsas rosas aut ipsa lilia in manibus meis, nec sic poterant odoramenta tantae mihi suavitatis infundere. Confiteor vobis: ita sum reffectus ut putem me totum subito renovatum".¹⁹⁷

In this brief survey of texts describing the lives of couples who decide to embrace marital chastity, it is important to note the general patterns reflected in the *Life* of Julian and Basilissa. All the stories tell of only children from rich and well-known families, who are forced to marry. The decision to remain virgin is made on the wedding night, heightening dramatic tension. As promised to the young couple in the *Acts* of Thomas, Julian and Basilissa have 'living children' whom they offer pure to God.¹⁹⁸

The *Life* of Melania has often been cited as an example of 'actual' marital chastity.¹⁹⁹ In fact, de Gaiffier believes that the *Acts* of Thomas and the other Christian tales that followed, fell into the sphere of Melania and Pinian's influence. However this is not probable since the *Acts* were written far earlier

¹⁹⁵ H. Delehay (1936), 196, ch. 4.

¹⁹⁶ *idem* 199, ch. 8.

¹⁹⁷ *idem* 199-200, ch. 9.

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter Two, 96.

¹⁹⁹ eg. B. de Gaiffier (1947), 166. After examining previous scholarship in detail and collating her own evidence, Elizabeth Clark came to the conclusion that the *Life* dates to 452/ 453 AD. See E. Clark (1984), 24.

than the *Life* of Melania. Nevertheless, *Melania's* importance is to offer us a fifth-century example of a celibate marriage.²⁰⁰ To de Gaiffier, the *Life* provides further evidence for an awareness of the phenomenon, and in so doing provides hagiographers with a paradigm.

Ostensibly we have three narratives with diverse genres, yet all three texts are hagiographies. A broad chronological comparison of the narratives could suggest how the presentation has been affected by the different eras and backgrounds from which the texts emanated. However this approach is not fruitful. The provenance of each text is uncertain and we do not know what happened to the texts of *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* between the sixth and the eleventh centuries. Moreover, the exact date of composition for the *Lives* is uncertain.

We can however, postulate certain external factors which point to the sixth century as the date for both *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia*, and the tenth century for *Galaktion and Episteme*. We have seen that *Julian and Basilissa* belongs to an educational milieu for a monastic and/or lay audience, *Andronikos and Athanasia* to the world of desert literature, whilst *Galaktion and Episteme* is a Christianised re-modelling of the pagan novel. We further know that *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* were copied in the tenth century and that *Galaktion and Episteme* was copied in the eleventh century. Furthermore we have also ascertained that *Julian and Basilissa* and *Galaktion and Episteme* each have a definite *terminus ante quem* of the sixth and the tenth centuries, respectively.

The reception of each narrative in the tenth and eleventh centuries coincided with an increased interest in edifying tales, such as those of Paul of Monembasia. Furthermore, the eleventh century, the period when most of the manuscripts were copied, witnessed a revival in the genre of the novel, a genre

²⁰⁰ Melania and Pinian's relationship is briefly discussed in Chapter 2, see note 185 above.

based on descriptions of human emotion that placed emphasis on people's lives and their interactions with each other.

What we can say about ideas on marriage and celibacy is not *how* they have been affected chronologically in the three texts but what they mean *to* the text. In this chapter it was argued that Julian and Basilissa were not merely regarded as chaste *individuals* but as a chaste *couple* and that it was their celibacy *within* marriage that was acknowledged and celebrated. This key point forms the basis for the next chapter where it is also shown that celibacy does not affect the marital bond between the couples. *Galaktion and Episteme*, *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* are particularly interesting examples of hagiography precisely because this is in no way a common phenomenon.

CHAPTER TWO

2 MARRIAGE

Galaktion and Episteme, Julian and Basilissa and Andronikos and Athanasia each celebrate the life of a couple united by the bond of marriage. It is to this aspect of their lives that we shall now turn to consider firstly, the distinctions between chaste, spiritual and celibate marriage. Secondly, the ideology and evolution of Christian marriage is outlined, incorporating the attitudes of the Church Fathers and secular authorities to marriage, celibacy and separation. The celebration of the Christian marriage rite will also be discussed. In the third section the couples' celibate marriages are analysed to show how these were celebrated in the texts, not solely their personal celibacy. The final section concludes that within these marriages, celibacy in no way lessens or weakens the ties between husband and wife.

2.1 DEFINITIONS

The Gospel of Matthew, chapter 19, verses 5-6 proclaims, "...a man shall leave his father and mother and shall be joined to his wife and the two shall become one flesh". The original verse came from Genesis 2: 26 and so, from the beginning of Christian thought, sex is linked to marriage. However in the early Christian tradition, people married to channel their sexual desire, in order not "to burn". They married to cement family ties and to sustain the hereditary line. Sex for pleasure was frowned upon by the Church Fathers. Procreation was the expected result of conjugal relations. Therefore why abstain within a legitimised relationship?

Classifying this type of alliance has always been problematic.¹ Various labels "chaste marriage", "spiritual marriage" and "celibate marriage", the importance of making a clear distinction between these terms is obvious.

¹ D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993), 3-6.

"Celibate marriage" is freely used for a variety of situations including the circumstances surrounding the "subintroductae", virgins who lived with monks and looked after their needs. This living arrangement has also been designated "spiritual marriage" which will be the term used in the thesis for this form of cohabitation and will be later described in more detail.² "Spiritual marriage" has further been used to depict the union between Christ and his bride, the Church.

Celibate marriage further stands in lieu of "chaste marriage". Chastity within marriage here could mean that both partners were sexually faithful but it would not imply abstinence. Similarly, the epithet would apply in cases when couples would be sexually inactive for a certain period, before a religious festival for example. Dyan Elliott highlights this anomaly when she observes that in the western case of Ida of Blom (d. 1113), "we are told that she preserved her marriage chastely, 'servato nempe caste conjugio', a phrase that would be ambiguous if the *vita* did not go on to speak of her children."³

In this thesis, "celibate marriage" is used to describe the practice of sexual abstinence within a marriage. The marriage is voluntarily unconsummated. This situation applies to both Galaktion and Episteme and Julian and Basilissa. I broaden the definition to include Andronikos and Athanasia. Though they initially have marital intercourse, they decide to cease conjugal relations after fulfilling their Christian duty in producing their two children.

2.2 THE PRACTICE OF MARRIAGE

A definition of pagan marriage could be taken from the *Digest* 1. 1. 1. 3: "The natural law is that which nature has taught to all animals. For this law is proper to all animals and not only to mankind...From this comes the union of a man and a woman that we call matrimony and the procreation and rearing (*educatio*) of children". Children were primarily needed for the purposes of inheritance. Both betrothal and divorce were singularly easy to enact. When we reach Late

² See B. Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001), esp. 75-99.

³ D. Elliott (1993), 5, citing AASS April 2: 142.

Antiquity the idea of marriage remained fundamentally unchanged.⁴ Marriage was still expected and alliances were arranged by the children's parents,⁵ a fact witnessed in the saints' *Lives*. For the parents of Julian and Galaktion, the important qualities for a future wife are that she is beautiful and well-born.⁶ In Episteme's case, the fact that she is a pagan is not an initial problem.⁷ Kleitophon has found an attractive girl of noble birth for his son and these attributes are what matters. Andronikos marries the daughter of a fellow workman, thus she is presumably of the same class and wealth.⁸

The clearest evidence for details of betrothal and the wedding celebrations in the three saints' *Lives* comes from *Julian and Basilissa*. Here we have a wealthy Christian family in Egypt. As noted previously, the marriage is arranged, "a woman was sought, one who would be equal to him in wealth and manners and from a noble family", (ζητείται ἥτις ὁμοία αὐτῷ εἶναι δυνηθῇ ἐν εὐπορίαις καὶ τρόποις καὶ εὐγενείᾳ γένους).⁹ Next follows what may be termed the betrothal, "and following the custom of men, after a discussion of marriage took place, the girl's parents accepted, asking for a contract" (καὶ ὡς ἔθος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλίας περὶ γάμου γενομένης, ἀνεδέξαντο οἱ γονεῖς τῆς κόρης ἐρωτῶντες τὸν λόγον).¹⁰ The procedure is in keeping with Roman custom.¹¹ The Romans

⁴ S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).

⁵ A. Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996), 29, "There is no indication whatsoever that arranged marriages would have been less popular amongst Christian Romans".

⁶ S. Treggiari (1991), 90-94; 100-103.

⁷ Mixed marriages were by and large condemned. The one redeeming factor would be if the offending partner converted as Episteme does. Paul makes exception for this situation in 1 Cor 7. 12-16, where he acknowledges that divorce may occur when a pagan partner wishes to separate from their Christian spouse: "for the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband". What he hopes for is the conversion of the pagan partner. Tertullian is in accordance, "...a man who is already married to a pagan woman and who is afterwards converted by the grace of God, ought to continue to live with his wife", *Ad Uxorem* 2.2. See also J. E. Grubbs, "'Pagan' and 'Christian' Marriage: the State of the Question, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (4) (1994), 390; 403-404.

⁸ S. Treggiari (1991), 89-90.

⁹ *Julian and Basilissa*, 5. 7-11.

¹⁰ *Julian and Basilissa*, 5. 12-13. See also *Digest* 23. 1. 1 Florentinus *Institutes*, bk 3, "Betrothal is the announcement and mutual promise of marriage in the future". Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian I* Latin text, T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, eds; A. Watson, Eng. tr., (University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania, 1985).

¹¹ *Digest*, Ulpian *Sabinus*, bk 35, it is stated that "agreement alone is sufficient for betrothal. It is agreed that betrothal can take place in the absence of the parties, and this is quite common".

recognised the difference between the first approach from one family to another concerning their children (*concilio*), and the actual agreement itself (*convenio*). The term *pacta* was also used in place of the more legal *sponsio* for the betrothal itself, particularly by literary sources.¹² As part of the betrothal sometimes a kiss and a ring were exchanged.¹³ Neither was obligatory and since the engagement was not legally binding in a sense, with no transactions involved, betrothal seems to have been quite a casual practice.¹⁴

The exchange of collateral as part of the agreement for the engagement was a Greek custom and enters the legislation only with Constantine. Thereafter it is law.¹⁵ The practice is referred to as the *arrha sponsalicia*.¹⁶ Dowry is not specifically mentioned in the *Life* but it might be covered by the terms *ὁμιλία* and *λόγος*. Under the Ptolemies, there existed two types of marriage contract particularly in vogue in Egypt: *συγγραφή συνοικισίου* (where the father officially gave his daughter away (*ἔκδοσις*), and *συγγραφή ὁμολογίας* (a later form of the *συνοικισίου*, which included the dowry).¹⁷ It might be speculated that the *ὁμιλία* and the *λόγος*, terms used in the *Life*, are a gloss for *συγγραφή ὁμολογίας*, thus implying a dowry. Given the wealth of the two families, the giving of some form of material goods is almost a certainty.¹⁸

¹² S. Treggiari (1991), 140 citing Cicero *Balb.* 29; Livy 1. 2. 1.

¹³ S. Treggiari (1991), 150-151; J. E. Grubbs, "Constantine and Imperial Legislation on the Family", in *The Theodosian Code*, J. Harries and I. Wood (Duckworth, London, 1993), 120-142, esp. 126, n. 16.

¹⁴ *Digest* 23.1.7 Paul *Edict bk* 35, "as far as betrothal is concerned, it makes no difference whether witnesses are present or a solemn promise is made without anything in writing".

¹⁵ S. Treggiari (1991), 152 citing Anné, *Les rites fiançailles et la donation pour cause de mariage sous le bas-empire* (Louvain, 1941), 87-135.

¹⁶ See also J. E. Grubbs (1993), 126-130, "In classical Roman law a distinction had been made between gifts...which had been given by the prospective husband specifically for the purpose of cementing the marriage alliance, and gifts which were made...simply out of affection...Constantine simplified matters by doing away with the distinction between the two types of gifts". (126).

¹⁷ H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law* (America Philological Association, Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1939), esp. 5ff.

¹⁸ A. Arjava (1996), 55, cf. Chrysostom *Homily 48 in Gen.* 23: 5-6 (with reference to the wedding of Rebecca), 'Do you see how much care they took in olden times to obtain wives for their sons? How they looked for nobility ahead of money? None of the agreements, none of the contracts or the other ridiculous things that happen these days...'. Chrysostom *Hom 48 in Gen 23:5-6 in St. John Chrysostom: Homilies on Genesis 46-67*, R. C. Hill, tr., *The Fathers of the Church* (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C, 1992), ch. 26, (p. 38).

After the time of marriage has been agreed, the next step occurs when "everything that was customary pertaining to a married couple was confirmed in the registers" (καὶ πάντα βεβαιοῦνται τὰ ταῖς δέλτοις εἰωθότα τῶν ζευγνυμένων περιέχουσαι).¹⁹ The bridegroom and one of his prospective in-laws usually signed the deed. The bride remained a voiceless presence, her parents wrote her name on the contract.²⁰

The Christian marriage rite itself did not have a set form until the ninth century in the East and the twelfth century in the West.²¹ But Christians, much to the Church Fathers' dismay, continued pagan and Jewish practices and celebrated their nuptials as before. Tertullian cast all forms of the festivities under the scurrilous banner of idolatry, such as the pagan/Roman custom of wearing garland-crowns.²² Chrysostom also mentions these crowns but he appropriates them for a Christian simile, rendering them a sign of conquered passion. "Garlands are wont to be worn on the heads of bridegrooms, as a symbol of victory, betokening that they approach the marriage bed unconquered by pleasure".²³

The presence of a priest and the invocation of blessings for the couple seem to have been arbitrary. In Chrysostom's list of complaints highlighting the lack of reverence paid at weddings, he takes exception to the absence of a priest. "Priests should be summoned to strengthen the harmony of the union by prayers and blessings so that the love for her spouse may be increased and the

¹⁹Julian and Basilissa, 5. 15-16.

²⁰A. Arjava (1996), 34. Also J. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (University of California Press, Berkeley, London, 1983), 26, "From the 1st AD it was customary to draw up a document that would be signed and witnessed, usually but not necessarily on the wedding day. As well as conventional statements about marriage and its purpose, the document contained agreements pertaining to the dowry and counter-dowry. The existence of the document might provide evidence that the man and woman were really married and not merely cohabiting but while the Greeks traditionally considered nuptial gifts to be necessary for the validity of marriage, Roman law did not".

²¹J.- B. Molin and P. Mutembe, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XII^e au XVI^e siècle*, Théologie historique 26 (Paris, 1974).

²²Tertullian, *De Corona* 13.4-14.2 in "*De Corona*" liber, ed., J. Marra, Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum (Turin, 1927).

²³Chrysostom *Hom IX in I Tim ii*, 11-15, in *St. John Chrysostom: Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus and Philemon*, ed., P. Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 13, first series (Hendrickson Publishers, 1995).

maid's continence be heightened".²⁴ Two passages in particular mention bishops present at a marriage ceremony but there is much debate over both. The earlier citation is from Ignatius of Antioch. "It is right that men and women who marry be united with the consent of the bishop, in order that the marriage be according to the Lord and not according to lust".²⁵ However both Ritzer and Grubbs interpret the remark to refer to a bishop's "pastoral" duty and not as a specific rôle in a marriage service.²⁶ The second piece of evidence comes from Tertullian's *de monogamia*, when he condemns a woman marrying for the second time, "how will you dare request the kind of marriage which is not permitted to the ministers from whom you ask it, the bishop who is a monogamist, the presbyters and the deacons who are bound by the same solemn obligation?"²⁷ Ritzer again is in doubt, dating the text to after Tertullian's conversion to Montanism. Thus he believes that the ceremony is for the Montanist elite and not for "ordinary Catholic Christians". Crouzel disagrees.²⁸

The most detailed image concerning their marriage preparations in *Julian and Basilissa* is the wedding procession, presumably accompanying the bride to her new home. "When the appointed day arrived, the neighbouring cities gathered together, bringing with them diverse enjoyments which the crowds delight in and through which tender minds might be excited by erotic desire. The squares echoed to the beat of instruments and the different melodies of musicians. A crowd of virgin girls, their locks adorned with gold jewellery, sang songs with the sweetest of voices, melting even the strongest men with the pleasure of profligacy". (Παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ὁρισθείσης ἡμέρας, αἱ γείτονες πόλεις συνέρχονται, ποικίλας τοῦ πλήθους τέρψεις μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαγόμεναι δι'

²⁴ Chrysostom *Hom 48 in Gen 23:5-6*, ch. 30, (p. 41).

²⁵ *To Polycarp 5.2*, in *The Apostolic Fathers I*, tr., K. Lake (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1912), 273.

²⁶ K. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessings: a Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (Alcuin Club, SPCK, 1982), 11-17 citing K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les églises chrétiennes de 1^{er} au X^{ie} siècle* (Paris, 1971), 81-141; J. E. Grubbs (1994), 389.

²⁷ Tertullian, *De Monogamia*, ch. 11, (pp.93-94) in *Tertullian: Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage - To His Wife, An Exhortation to Chastity, Monogamy*, tr., W. P. Le Saint, Ancient Christian Writers 13 (The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1956).

²⁸ H. Crouzel, 'Deux textes de Tertullian concernant la procédure et les rites du mariage chrétien', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 1 (1973), 313.

ὧν ἡ διάνοια τῆς τρυφερᾶς ἡλικίας εἰς ἔρωτος ἐπιθυμίαν διεγερθήσεται. Ὑχουν αἱ πλατεῖαι τῷ τῶν ὀργάνων πυγμῷ καὶ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν μουσικῶν. Πλήθος παρθένων, χρυσεῖς κοσμίους ποικίλλουσαι τοὺς πλοκάμους, τοῖς ἄσμασι τῆς ἡδυτάτης φωνῆς καὶ στερεὸν ἔλυνον ἄνθρωπον τῇ τέρψει τῆς ἀσωτίας).²⁹

Chrysostom vehemently attacks such wedding feasts and processions, regarding these celebrations as excuses for a drunken brawl. All decorum is thrown to the winds with "people frisking like camels and mules".³⁰ Chrysostom also vents his spleen on the dances that seem to have been part of the festivities, calling them "satanic performances".³¹ "It is quite indecent and disgraceful to introduce into one's house lewd fellows and dancers and all that Satanic pomp".³² Canon 53 of the Council of Laodicaea (late-fourth century) forbids Christians to dance at wedding feasts and in canon 54 it is stated that clerics must not "witness the shows at weddings, but before the players enter, they must rise up and depart".³³ Marriage is a sacred and solemn occasion for Chrysostom, "everything should be full of chasteness, of gravity and orderliness".³⁴ He then comments on the attendance of young girls on these riotous occasions, such as those who attend Julian and Basilissa's wedding, singing their "sweet songs", "...shall the virgin dance and yet feel no shame before her fellows?...For the virgin ought not appear publicly at all at a marriage".³⁵ Julian himself considers all the festivities surrounding his wedding, foreign.³⁶

Chrysostom provides other indications of what went on during a wedding in the homily to the Colossians, "when then thou makest a marriage, go not round from house to house borrowing mirrors and dresses...let no one from the orchestra be present, for such expense is superfluous, and unbecoming...Adorn the bride not with these ornaments that are made of gold

²⁹ *Julian and Basilissa*, 5. 18-25.

³⁰ Chrysostom, *Hom on Colossians* 12.

³¹ *idem*.

³² *idem*.

³³ Laodicaea: vol. I. II, *Les canons des Synodes Particuliers*, canon 53, p. 151; canon 54, p. 152, in P-P. Joannou, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques*, 2 vols (Tipografia Italo-Orientale S. Nilo, Rome, 1962).

³⁴ Chrysostom, *Hom on Colossians* 12.

³⁵ *idem*,

³⁶ *Julian and Basilissa*, 5. 25 (βαρβαρικῶν ἔθνων).

but with gentleness and modesty...The dinners and suppers, let them not be full of drunkenness, but of abundance and pleasure".³⁷

2.3 THE CHRISTIAN IDEOLOGY OF MARRIAGE

One might assume that the guidelines to Christian thought on marriage lie in the Bible. However surprisingly little instruction is provided. Much of the following is based on K. Stevenson's excellent *Nuptial Blessing: a Study Of Christian Marriage Rites*.³⁸

In both the J and P narratives of Genesis (Gen 2: 18-25 and Gen 1: 26-9 respectively), a sexual, monogamous union is placed at the forefront of the relationship between man and woman, "...a man shall leave his father and mother and shall be joined to his wife and the two shall become one flesh".³⁹ Stevenson points out that the emphasis on monogamy is surprising given the number of polygamous situations arising in the Old Testament.⁴⁰ Moreover, the emphasis is on fertility; when Abraham and Sarah are unable to conceive, she encourages him to sleep with a slave girl.⁴¹ No condemnation is given to the 'immorality' of the situation.

Not until the book of Hosea do we see the first allegory of marriage.⁴² Here the relationship between God and Israel is described in terms of betrothal, and for the first time marriage is described as a covenant; a sacred union.⁴³

When we move on to the New Testament, new complications arise, at least for the Church Fathers. For if sexual union was the basis of the human male-female relationship, how could this be reconciled with the obvious emphasis on celibacy and imitation of Jesus' teaching? Calls such as "if any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow

³⁷ Chrysostom, *Hom on Colossians* 12.

³⁸ See also C. N. L Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989), 41-51.

³⁹ Matthew 19: 5-6 echoing Genesis 2: 24.

⁴⁰ K. Stevenson (1982), 4.

⁴¹ Genesis 16: 2-4.

⁴² Hosea 2: 14-23.

⁴³ Hosea 2: 18.

me".⁴⁴ could not be easily ignored. The wedding at Cana (John 2: 1-11) played a very important rôle in attaching a spiritual interpretation to a marriage.⁴⁵ Jesus attends the wedding, therefore it is blessed, doubly so as it is the venue for his first miracle. However the marriage also signified the union between God and his bride, the Church. The relationship is similarly illustrated in Ephesians 5: 22-33. The obedience demanded from wives is equivalent to "the obedience all Christians owe to Christ himself. The husband is the head, so is Jesus the head of the church. Wives must obey husbands as Christians obey Christ".⁴⁶

Four Church Fathers dealt specifically with marriage: Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Augustine and John Chrysostom. All four have been cited by scholars for early Christian views on marriage but it must be remembered that Clement probably, and Augustine certainly, wrote these treatises in response to those whom they termed heretics.⁴⁷ As Clement, in *Stromata* III remarked, "I have quoted these remarks to prove in error those Basilidians who do not live purely".⁴⁸

The central question was whether continence should be preferred over marriage. Clement's observations on marriage, mainly found in book III of the *Stromata*, do not follow a linear pattern. He borrows from stoicism for his essential belief that celibacy is best: "...one should fight desire...but our ideal is not to experience desire at all..."⁴⁹, since "he who indulges his pleasures gratifies his body; but he who is controlled, liberates from his passions his soul, which is master of the body".⁵⁰ Tertullian joins Clement in placing continence over marriage, "...marry we may because marry we must...Scripture says that it is better to marry than to burn; but what sort of Good, I ask you, can that be which is such only when it is compared to what is bad? Marriage, forsooth, is better

⁴⁴ Luke 9: 23.

⁴⁵ K. Stevenson (1982), 10.

⁴⁶ *idem* 11.

⁴⁷ J. E. Grubbs (1994), 387-388.

⁴⁸ Clement, *Stromata* in *Alexandrian Christianity*, tr., J. Oulton and H. Chadwick, The Library of Christian Classics 2 (SCM Press Ltd, London, 1954), 40-92, esp. I. 3, (p. 41).

⁴⁹ *idem* VII. 57, (p. 66).

⁵⁰ *idem* V. 41, (p. 58).

because burning is worse! How much better it is neither to marry nor to burn!"⁵¹ He explains his reasoning in 1. 7: "we have been taught by the Lord and God of Salvation that continence is a means of attaining eternal life".⁵² Both men do, however, have the innate belief that God ordained marriage in order to produce children and sustain the natural order of His creation. Tertullian states clearly that marriage "is an institution blessed by God for the reproduction of the human race",⁵³ referring to his wife as "(my) dearest companion in the service of the Lord".⁵⁴ Similarly, when criticising the Marcionites Clement declares, "they decide to abstain from marriage. Thus they are in opposition to their Maker...they are continent, not of their own free choice, but from hatred of the Creator, being unwilling to use what he has made".⁵⁵ When defending the possible accusation as to why God does not have a wife, he replies: "He had his own bride, the Church...not necessarily to beget children since he abides eternally and was born the only Son of God. It is the Lord Himself who says 'That which God has joined together, let no man put asunder'".⁵⁶ His conclusion however is indeterminate, "our view is that we welcome as blessed the state of abstinence from marriage in those to whom this has been granted by God. We admire monogamy and the high standing of single marriage, holding that we ought to share suffering with one another and 'bear one another's burdens' (Gal 6: 2)".⁵⁷ He thus embraces both stances, an ambiguity exemplified when he observes that though Peter and the other apostles were married, the apostles treated their wives as if they were their sisters.⁵⁸ Clement thus refuses to solve the paradox of the celibate marriage he advocates; marriage and celibacy are equal virtues. Interestingly he cites various pagan examples of people who have

⁵¹ *idem* 1. 3, (p. 12).

⁵² *idem* (p. 19).

⁵³ Tertullian, *Ad Uxorem*, in *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage: Ad Uxorem, De Exhortatione Castitatis, De Monogamia*, tr., W. P. La Saint, Ancient Christian Writers 13 (The Newman Press, London, 1956), 1. 2, (p. 11).

⁵⁴ *idem* 1. 1, (p. 10).

⁵⁵ Clement, *Stromata* in *Alexandrian Christianity*, tr., J. Oulton and H. Chadwick (1954), III. 12, (p. 46).

⁵⁶ *idem* VI. 49, (p. 63).

⁵⁷ *idem* I. 4, (p. 42).

⁵⁸ "(they) took their wives with them not as women with whom they had marital relations, but as sisters", *idem*, VI. 53, (p. 65). See *Galaktion and Episteme* 13. 311-312, κυρία μου καὶ ἀδελφή.

abstained from marriage but adds, "there is nothing meritorious about abstinence from marriage unless it arises from love of God".⁵⁹ Celibacy can be practised by anyone but one's intention must be questioned, lest the motive be self-indulgent.

When Jovinian declared that being married was as virtuous as devoting a life to virginity, Jerome's reply in the form of *Adversus Jovinian*, became the anti-feminist manifesto for Late Antiquity.⁶⁰ So virulent was its author that even Augustine felt the need to temper rage with considered moderation. *De Bono Coniugali* was the result. Augustine was writing about two hundred years later than Clement and explored the concept of the marriage bond in far greater detail than any of the Church Fathers before him. Though he states that marriage is primarily to produce offspring, he does concede that, "(since) every man is a part of the human race and human nature is something social and possesses the capacity for friendship as a great and natural good...so it is that the first natural tie of human society is man and wife".⁶¹ "The marriage of male and female is something good...also because of the natural companionship between the two sexes".⁶² Marriage, for Augustine, had a 'threefold' purpose: offspring (*proles*), fidelity (*fides*) and sacrament (*sacramentum*). However, though marriage is a good, continence is better.⁶³ "It is a good to marry, since it is a good to beget children, to be the mother of a family; but it is better not to marry since it is better for human society itself not to have need of marriage". In this way, Augustine agrees with Clement and Tertullian. But he goes a step further in maximising the bond between husband and wife.

2.4 SPIRITUAL MARRIAGE

⁵⁹ *idem* VI. 50-1, (pp. 63-64).

⁶⁰ J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (Duckworth, London, 1998), 180-189. See also D. Hunter, "Resistance to the Virginal Ideal in Late Fourth-Century Rome: the Case of Jovinian", *Theological Studies* 48 (1987), 45-64.

⁶¹ Augustine, *De Bono Coniugali* in *Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects*, tr., R. J. Deferrar, The Fathers of the Church 27, (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1955), ch. 1, (p. 9).

⁶² *idem* ch. 3, (p. 12).

⁶³ "marriage and continence are two goods, the second of which is better", *idem* ch. 8, (p. 20).

One might suppose that the ideal solution to resolve the tensions between marriage and celibacy was for male and female ascetics to live together as brother and sister in a "spiritual marriage". However this practice provoked much ire amongst the Church Fathers and was formally condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities as witnessed in the records of the church councils.⁶⁴ Chrysostom's detailed refutation of the practice of 'syneisaktism' gives a valuable insight into this alternative form of celibate marriage. Here we have a man and a woman theoretically joined to each other by nothing other than bonds of Christian *agape* and living out their daily life together in Christian prayer and charity. Elizabeth Clark suggests two reasons why women would have wanted to enter into this form of relationship: one is that syneisaktism offered a practical means by which female ascetics could conduct their daily lives; and the other adduces a more emotional reasoning. The practice provided the means of fostering a special relationship, an "emotional intimacy" between men and women "which must have been somewhat unusual even in marriage, in the society of Late Antiquity".⁶⁵ Chrysostom certainly held that it was too good to be true. In his 'Instruction and refutation directed against those men cohabiting with virgins', he sarcastically refers to,

"...certain men who apart from marriage and sexual intercourse take girls inexperienced with matrimony, establish them permanently in their homes and keep them sequestered until ripe old age, not for the purpose of bearing children (for they deny that they have sexual relations with the women), nor out of licentiousness (for they claim that they preserve them inviolate)".⁶⁶

⁶⁴ eg. Council of Elvira (306), canon xxvii; Council of Nicaea (325), canon iii and Council of Carthage (378), canons xvi and xxiv.

⁶⁵ E. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends*, Studies in Women and Religion 2 (The Edwin Mellen Press, New York and Toronto, 1979), 159.

⁶⁶ Chrysostom, *Instruction and Refutation Directed Against Those Men Cohabiting With Virgins* in E. Clark (1979), ch. 1, p. 164-165.

Thus for Chrysostom, a woman can only be a mother or a prostitute. He is convinced that these virgins, by not undergoing the labours of childbirth, retain their looks and thus act as further enticement to their male companions.⁶⁷ He simply disbelieves that men can live with women chastely and not desire them,⁶⁸ illustrating how strongly the belief in the power of sex and fornication was ingrained into Late Antique/Christian consciousness. Elizabeth Clark has indicated how these notions have a precedent in the classical and Judaic world.⁶⁹ Chrysostom compares this supposed male frustration when surrounded by tempting virgins to the anguish felt by the mythic Tantalus: "they inflict upon themselves a more bitter distress through their failure to obtain the desired object".⁷⁰ He says that even *he* would not be able to withstand the temptation,

"If anyone should reproach us as intemperate for these words about the fine gentlemen who live with a woman without anything too terrible happening to them, I congratulate such men as these and wish that I also would receive similar strengths. Probably I can even convince myself that it is possible that there *are* such men! But I do wish our accusers could also persuade us on this point: that a young man bursting with vigour can cohabit with a girl, sit side by side with her, eat with her, talk with her all day long (not to mention all the rest - untimely laughter, merriment, sweet talk, and so forth...) have the house, the table, the salt in common, share everything very frankly, and yet not be seized by any human sentiment, but remain pure of evil desire and pleasure".⁷¹

⁶⁷ *eadem* ch. 1, p. 166.

⁶⁸ *eadem* ch. 1, p. 169.

⁶⁹ E. Clark, "Devil's Gateway and Bride of Christ: Women in the Early Christian World", in E. Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Antique Christianity*, Studies in Women and Religion 20 (The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1986), 23-60, esp. 29-30.

⁷⁰ E. Clark (1979), ch. 2, p. 168.

⁷¹ *eadem* ch. 3, p. 170-171.

Chrysostom sees absolutely no point in living with a woman for reasons which are not "love and lust".⁷² "Tell me, why do you live with a virgin? This cohabitation is not based on law but on love and lust. For if this reason is taken away, the need for the practice also disappears. What man, if he were free from the compulsion to have a woman, would choose to put up with the delicacy, wantonness, and all the other faults of that sex?"..."No man would choose to live with her if he were innocent of desire".⁷³ Not only that but one must necessarily suffer a loss of manhood if he were to spend so much time with a woman: "men who have been commanded to carry the cross and follow Christ have discarded it resembling effeminate soldiers who throw away their shields and sit down with a spindle and basket".⁷⁴ Women render men "softer, more hot-headed, shameful, mindless, irascible, insolent, importunate, ignoble, crude, servile, niggardly, reckless, nonsensical and to sum it up, the women take all their corrupting feminine customs and stamp them into the souls of these men".⁷⁵

Chrysostom clearly denounces spiritual cohabitation on the grounds that women present a carnal temptation for men and men will not be able to resist. He denigrates any ideal of a spiritual-emotional bond between the couple, because to him, women cannot offer this type of relationship. They offer no contribution to a man's well-being but serve only to feminise, soften and by implication, weaken him. Reversal of the traditional gender roles seems to be the biggest crime.⁷⁶ We shall see the very opposite happening in the chosen saints' *Lives*.

2.5 CELIBACY, SEPARATION AND THE LAW

Spiritual marriage did not work or, at least, proved too controversial. Furthermore it was not a practice that applied to married men and women.

⁷² *eadem* ch. 5. 178.

⁷³ *eadem* ch. 5. 179.

⁷⁴ *eadem* ch. 6, p. 180-181.

⁷⁵ *eadem* ch. 11, p. 197.

⁷⁶ B. Leyerle (2001), 98, "these couples appear to have adopted the life of the new creation, in which 'male' and 'female' have ceased to be meaningful categories, and eminence is based on service."

When couples decided to separate or divorce, this was not only a personal decision but also, obviously, a legal matter even if the reasons were religious.

By the time of Justinian, celibacy had become a recognised factor in legal wrangles. However, scholars have cited various changes in the law to illustrate that Christianity had effected a change in sexual mores since Constantine.⁷⁷ The emperor's edict in 320AD, abolishing Augustan penalties placed on the unmarried, is a prime example of supposed Christian ideology holding sway.⁷⁸ Eusebius,⁷⁹ Sozomen⁸⁰ and Cassiodorus⁸¹ all ascribe Christian motives to Constantine's decision. Yet Arjava and Grubbs have both shown that this law was in fact part of a wider operation in the reformation of economic policy with particular emphasis on inheritance.⁸² CT 3. 2. 1 dealt with the "annulment of provisions for forfeiture"; CT 11. 7. 3 with payment of taxes, "no person shall fear that he will suffer, at the hands of perverse and enraged judges, imprisonment and lashes of leaded whips or weights...". These changes and more, benefited the senatorial aristocracy.⁸³ Moreover, though Constantine may have lifted the Augustan forfeits on the childless, he maintained rewards for fecundity. Thus CI 5. 66, for example, concerned "those who are excused on account of the number of their children".⁸⁴ CT 9. 42. 9 and 13. 5. 7 also gave increased privileges to mothers.

By the early sixth century, the prominence given to two forms of separation centred on religious feeling is noteworthy. The first case was when one partner wanted a separation in order to pursue a life devoted to religion.

⁷⁷ J. E. Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995), 118-139.

⁷⁸ CT 8. 16. 1, "Annulment of the Penalties for Celibacy and Childlessness: Those persons who were formally considered celibates by the ancient law shall be freed from the threatening terrors of the law and they shall live as though numbered among married men and supported by the bonds of matrimony and all men shall have equal status in that they shall be able to accept anything to which they are entitled".

⁷⁹ Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, tr., Averil Cameron and S. G Hall, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1999), 4. 26.

⁸⁰ Sozomen, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed., J. Bidez (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1960), 1. 9. 1-4.

⁸¹ Cassiodorus, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, ed., R. Hanslik, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 71 (Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, Austria, 1952), 1. 9; (PL 99. 891-894).

⁸² A. Arjava (1996), 79; J. E. Grubbs (1995), 118-139. See also A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (The English Universities Press Ltd, London, 1961), 231, "In Constantine's legislation it is difficult to trace much that is of distinctly Christian inspiration".

⁸³ See also CI 6. 9. 9; 6. 23. 15 and 6. 37. 21 which concern the bequest of legacies.

⁸⁴ Also CT 13. 5. 7.

The second was separation by mutual consent. In the former instance the penalties incurred by divorce were not applicable to either party. *CI* 1. 3. 42 stated, "whenever any betrothed man or woman desires to renounce the life of the world...the betrothed man shall receive all the property which he bestowed as a gift upon his intended wife, without any diminution whatsoever and the betrothed woman shall not surrender double the amount (as has been the case up to this time) to her betrothed husband, but only what she received as the gift of betrothal. If either a husband or a wife withdraws from marriage on account of religion, and chooses a solitary life, both of them shall receive the property which was given as a dowry, or as an antenuptial donation...". What is interesting and in direct contrast to ecclesiastical belief, was the conviction that the partner who had left was thought of as dead. Any woman, abandoned because her husband chose to become a monk, could not marry for a year in order to dispel any disputes over paternity.⁸⁵

Cases of divorce by mutual consent revealed the extent of Christian influence and corrected the pagan assumption of easy divorce and remarriage. In novella 117, Justinian abolished divorce by mutual consent except when chastity was the prime motive.⁸⁶

Not until the time of Leo VI (886-912) was marriage legally described as a sacrament.⁸⁷ The novels issued during that emperor's reign addressed the problems arising from legal uncertainty about marriage. Novel 74 states that a blessing shall not be given to an engaged couple before they attain the legal age of marriage. Thus, without a sacred blessing, the marriage is not considered legal. Novel 89 adds, "We order that marital cohabitation be sanctioned by the witness of the sacred blessing (εὐλογίας)". For the first time, the Church is given the responsibility of solving legal disputes arising from divorce and other situations connected with the marital state. The novel is also of particular interest since it records that, "between celibacy and marriage, one cannot find an

⁸⁵ nov 22. 5 and nov 117. 10.

⁸⁶ novella 117. 10.

⁸⁷ Leo, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le sage* tr., P. Noailles and A. Dain (Les belles lettres, Paris, 1944).

intermediate situation which is blameless (ἀκατηγόρητον). Do you aspire to the state of marriage? Then it is necessary to observe the laws of marriage. Do the worries of marriage displease you? Then observe the state of celibacy. In this way, you will no longer bend the rules of marriage nor falsely imitate a life of celibacy".

In contrast, the Church Fathers always held marriage to be indissoluble. Augustine wrote (referring to a woman abandoned by her husband), "to such a degree is that nuptial pact which has been entered upon a kind of sacrament that it is not nullified by separation, since as long as the husband, by whom she has been abandoned, is alive, she commits adultery if she marries another, and he who abandoned her is the cause of evil".⁸⁸ "Once marriage is entered upon in the city (church) of our God...it can be dissolved in no way except by the death of one of the parties. The bond of marriage remains, even if offspring, for which the marriage was entered upon, should not follow because of a clear case of sterility...".

These beliefs hold true for the three saints *Lives*. The couples' marital bond remains fixed despite their choice to separate from one another. This is especially the case for Andronikos and Athanasia. Galaktion and Episteme live apart for over six years, yet their bond remains unbroken in Episteme's plea to her deaconess, "my heart is greatly pained because the god-warring men have taken my lord Galaktion to the cruel and sacrilegious governor. And look, I am setting forth so that I may die with him...may I not stay one hour behind my lord Galaktion. For through him I came to know Christ as true God and Creator of all living beings. Because of him I abandoned everything, riches, parents, property and all of my wealth - which was very great - so that I would not be separated from him in the present age or the future one."⁸⁹ Julian and Basilissa establish separate monasteries yet consult one another in times of difficulty.⁹⁰ The young

⁸⁸ *De Bono Coniugali*, ch. 6, (p. 18).

⁸⁹ *Galaktion and Episteme*, 12. 288-300.

⁹⁰ *Julian and Basilissa*, 11. 1-4, "In the times of Diocletian and Maximianus, the madness of persecution came about and suspicion of it spread all over the provinces of Egypt. When the rumours were confirmed, the saints discussed it amongst themselves".

men and women whom they teach and guide are considered their children.⁹¹ When Athanasia dies, Andronikos is distraught. He still relates to her as a wife and even desires to die with her, 'But he (Andronikos) could not bear it, saying, "'Wherever my lady is lying, O Father, it is necessary for me to die..."''.⁹² All this after realising that the monk with whom he has lived for eleven years is his wife whom he thinks he has not seen for twenty-two years.

2.6 SAINTS, MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY

Hagiographies of saintly couples do not usually dwell on the personal interactions and interplay between the husbands and wives. If this does happen, the emotion displayed is generally for a rhetorical purpose and is certainly not intended as a conjugal display of affection in itself.⁹³ For instance, in the *Life* of Timotheos and Maura, the narrative concentrates on just the essentials details: Timotheos is called before the governor just a few days after he has married Maura. His wife is ordered by Arianos the governor to persuade her husband to sacrifice. Timotheos chides her and so Maura defies Arianos. Husband and wife are crucified, κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀλλήλων, and remain alive for a further nine days before finally dying, consoling one another. The concise narrative has no prologue or description of the couple's life up to their summons by the governor. All we know is that they are newly-weds but there is no interplay between the characters as in *Galaktion and Episteme*, except when Timotheos chides Maura for giving in to Arianos.

This lack of conjugal interaction similarly occurs when celibacy becomes a necessity for one or both partners in a saintly marriage, for instance in the *Lives* of Cecilia and of Melania. Here we generally find that the other partner is viewed as a hindrance and the relationship's focus is on the desire for celibacy

⁹¹ *Julian and Basilissa*, 11. 22-25, "...all Your servants, men and women, whom You made your soldiers through us, will stand in front of You, pure, and we can say joyfully, 'Behold, we, together with the children whom You gave us, none of them has been lost.'" cf. Augustine *De Bono Coniugali*, ch. 19, (p. 34), "In our day, it is true, no one perfect in piety seeks to have children except spiritually".

⁹² *Andronikos and Athanasia*, 13. 337-338.

⁹³ K. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., London, 1996).

and the salvation it brings. Any feelings the husband or wife may have for one another are not elaborated on.

Positive emotion between saintly partners is very rare but one example is the *Life* of Adrian and Natalie. The pair live in Nicomedia during the time of the Emperor Maximian. Adrian, a soldier (πρῶτος ὢν τῆς βασιλικῆς) is sent to arrest some Christians who persuade him to convert.⁹⁴ His wife, Natalie (we are not given their ages, nor told how long they have been married) runs to the prison and exhorts the other prisoners to pray for her husband. Adrian tells her to go home but to return on the day of the tribunal in order to witness his death. On that day, he goes home to see Natalie, having given a guarantee (καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐγγυηθεὶς) to the prisoners that he will return. When Natalie sees her husband, she thinks that he has deserted the band of martyrs and shuts the door in his face, reproaching him in her first and only piece of direct speech. Adrian rejoices to see his wife's commitment and gently tells her⁹⁵ that he has only come home to say goodbye to her.⁹⁶ She opens the door and embraces her husband, fortifying him for the trials ahead. Adrian then returns to the other martyrs. Since women are not allowed to see the prisoners, Natalie disguises herself as a man⁹⁷ and so slips in. She strengthens the resolve of the prisoners. Other women are inspired by her example and imitate her disguise. The martyrs are then condemned to death by the sword. Natalie tells the executioners to begin with Adrian and she takes hold of his feet whilst his hands and feet are cut off.⁹⁸ Adrian dies instantly. Natalie takes one of his hands and anoints herself with the blood trickling from the victims. A certain Eusebius then pays for the relics of all the saints to be taken by boat to Byzantium. Natalie is desired by a chiliarch⁹⁹ but escapes on the boat with the chiliarch in hot pursuit. But to make matters worse, a beguiling spirit, an

⁹⁴ τῆς χαριτὸς πλησθεὶς τοῦ Θεοῦ, F. Halkin, "Une passion grecque inédite des saints Adrien et Natalie (BHG 29)", in *Hagiologie byzantine - textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français*, Subsidia Hagiographica 71 (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1986), 47-55, ch. 1.

⁹⁵ Λέγει αὐτῇ πρᾶξι, *Adrian and Natalie*, ch. 2.

⁹⁶ Ἀλλ' ἦλθον συντάξασθαί σοι, *Adrian and Natalie*, ch. 2.

⁹⁷ Ἀνδρικὸν σχῆμα περιβαλομένη, *Adrian and Natalie*, ch. 3.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Galaktion and Episteme*, 15.

⁹⁹ Ὁ χιλιάρχης, described in *LSJ* as the commander of a thousand men. Also known as the Roman *tribunus militum*.

illusion,¹⁰⁰ materialises, pointing them in the wrong direction. Fortunately Adrian appears to warn her and then disappears.¹⁰¹ Once Natalie arrives safely in Byzantium Adrian reappears to tell her to rejoin him and Natalie immediately dies.

The *Life* is tremendously interesting for a number of reasons. Like *Galaktion and Episteme* the narrative is novelistic, concentrating on the emotions between the protagonists, though it is far shorter and the action is more compressed. However it is the character of Natalie that stands out. She takes the initiative to dress like a man in order to see her husband.¹⁰² Unlike Episteme, she glories in her husband's martyrdom, commanding the executioners to kill him first. She holds onto him as his hands and feet are cut off, she anoints herself with his blood and actually keeps his hand with her all the way to Byzantium.¹⁰³ Like Episteme, Natalie is a key player in the story. Both women are depicted as strong, passionate characters. Moreover Adrian and Natalie's relationship is given substance; in terms of the themes debated in this thesis we have emotion between husband and wife. Adrian returns home just to see his wife and to say goodbye to her before his certain death. Just as Basilissa appears to Julian before his death, telling him that she is in heaven waiting for him, so Adrian appears twice to Natalie; first, to save her from danger and the second time, to reassure her that he is waiting for her in heaven.

Although *Adrian and Natalie* exhibits the type of emotion displayed in the three chosen saints' *Lives*, there is an obvious difference: Adrian and Natalie do not have a celibate marriage. However the characteristics governing their marriage can be applied to *Galaktion and Episteme*, *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* and it is to these aspects that we shall now turn.

¹⁰⁰ πνεῦμα ἀπατηλὸν, *Adrian and Natalie*, ch. 4.

¹⁰¹ “Ἴδου ὁ κύριός μου Ἀδριανός”, *Adrian and Natalie*, ch. 4.

¹⁰² Disguise here is used in a positive way, as means of being with her husband and not as a device to escape from him as in so many other “transvestite” tales. This also applies to Athanasia, see pp. 90-92 below.

¹⁰³ The prominence given to the importance of relics throughout the text is also noteworthy.

2.7 *CELIBATE MARRIAGE IN THE CHOSEN SAINTS' LIVES*

2.7.1 *GALAKTION AND EPISTEME*

We can postulate that the hagiographer wished to create an edifying sequel to Achilles Tatios' *The Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon* as assumed by H. -G. Beck and Susan MacAlister. There are certainly parallels that can be drawn but they are by no means conclusive. However if the author did intend a Christianised continuation, then the misery of Kleitophon and (G)leukippe at the beginning of the story can be read as the misery of pagans. The author shows how the pagan couple suffers by not worshipping Christ. The famed lovers of Antiquity are very unhappy: Kleitophon beats Gleukippe as she is unable to bear children. Providentially she encounters a monk in disguise who persuades her to convert to Christianity as only then will she have a child.¹⁰⁴ Gleukippe abstains from intercourse with her husband ("let me not stain my consecration")¹⁰⁵ and Galaktion is conceived. Given that Galaktion's parents were the definition of pagan eros, their son and his bride (whom *he* persuades to become a Christian) have to display an equal and parallel desire for Christian ἀγάπη. And so they perform the ultimate service of love to God and dedicate themselves and their virginity to him. They have a celibate marriage.

In addition, if we read the narrative as a Christian inversion of a generic pagan novel, Galaktion and Episteme's celibate marriage, it can be argued, is a narrative device. In the pagan novels the hero and heroine tend to remain virgins until the end of the tale. By not actually consummating their marriage, the saintly pair echoes the virginity of the protagonists of the ancient novel: there, the lovers are always separated before anything can happen (in *The Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon* her mother bursts in on them, just at the crucial moment). The difference in the saints' *Life* is that the couple voluntarily deny sex and separate intentionally. The Christian saints' *Life* echoes the ancient pagan novels and then inverts the themes. At the end of the novel, the hero and

¹⁰⁴ *Galaktion and Episteme* 3. 76-79.

¹⁰⁵ *Galaktion and Episteme* 5. 121-122.

heroine marry and enjoy the pleasure of conjugal relations. The difference in the saints' *Life* of course, is that Galaktion and Episteme never consummate their marriage and die. But Christian thought compensates this earthly matter by promising the pair eternal life together. As Galaktion says to Episteme, if she keeps the faith, they will never be separated in this world or the next. What is interesting is that their celibate marriage is not really dwelt upon, the story, the narrative pace, is more important than the theology. Celibate marriage is a narrative device that fits into this Christian tale.

2.7.2 JULIAN AND BASILISSA

2.7.2a *The Portrayal of the Family in the Life*

2.7.2a (i) *The Conventional Family*

The concept of the family unit dominates the narration. Family ties are prominent throughout the text and the emotions generated are played on. What is interesting is a parallel negation of the family which coexists with the idea of the spiritual family.

Julian's family is Christian and they are wealthy. As their son grows to maturity they realise that he is intending to turn away from the traditional rôle assigned to the male; that of husband and father. They try and persuade him to relent, using Christian teaching, specifically Paul, in their argument: ὅτι περ ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου ἀποστόλου τοῦ πάντων χριστιανῶν διδασκάλου διδαχαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐκδιδασκόμεθα. Λέγει γὰρ τεκνογονεῖν, οἰκοδεσποτεῖν, μηδεμίαν παρέχειν ἀφορμὴν τῷ πονηρῷ...ἵνα τῷ νόμῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ πιστὸς εἶναι φανῇς (3. 5-10 "as in the sacred law of Christ issuing from the blessed apostle, the teacher of all Christians, from whom we learn spiritual teachings. For he says, 'bear children, be master of the household, offer no pretext for the evil one'...so that you may seem true to the Master's law"). This is the standard attitude, pagan or Christian. The main reason for his parents urging Julian to marry is so that he and his future wife may produce children and thus continue the family line (ὥς καὶ μιᾷ προαιρέσει μετὰ τῆς συνημμένης σωτηριάδους διδαχῆς συνέλθῃτε 3. 19-20, "so that with one common purpose you will come together with the united and saving teaching" cf. 3. 20) and in so doing: ἀργουσῶν καὶ νικωμένων τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμιῶν (3. 18-19 "the desires of the body will be pacified and conquered"). They then cast his age against him, saying that he is old enough: ἐνιαυτῶν εἰ δεκακαιοκτώ· καὶ πῶς παραιτήσασθαι δύνῃ κληρώσασθαι σύζυγον; (3. 14 "you are eighteen years old. How can you refuse to choose a wife?"). This situation continues when the rest of the family and even his friends offer him "advice" (3. 23) which Julian finds intensely irritating (ἐπαχθείας). But a solution satisfactory to everyone arrives in

the comely shape of Basilissa, whom God has promised to Julian as a suitable wife. Thus the author paints a picture of conventional Christian expectations.

Julian is the son of the first man of the city (see notes to chapter seventeen) and as such his family commands much respect. So much so that three major officials are sent in a delegation to him for his first interrogation, due to his family's status, κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῷ παρείχετο τιμὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας τάξεως (17. 27 "he was given honour from his own class according to the status of his own family"). The assessor admits as much to him in 18. 5: Μαρκιανός, ἀκούων τὰ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σῆς καὶ τὴν τιμίαν τῶν προγόνων σου ῥίζαν καὶ τὸ τίμιόν σου γένος... ("Markianos, hearing about your nobility and the honourable root of your ancestors and the honour of your family..."). So powerful is the pull of family that Markianos initially decides to show Julian some leniency: ὥστε διὰ τὸ φείδεσθαί σου τῆς εὐγενείας τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναβάλλομαι (20. 26 "I am adjourning the punishment to spare your good name"). It is precisely this belief, this value which Markianos places on the family that makes his anger, grief and most of all disbelief so poignant perhaps, when his own son, Kelsios, turns against him and puts his trust in Julian. Markianos pleads with Julian, appealing to shared values: δι' ὅπερ προτρέπομαί σε ὡς υἱόν μου ἵνα πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ σοῦ γένους τοῖς θεοῖς λίβανον προσφέρειν ἱλαρῶς σπεύσης (20. 27 "I am urging you, as my son, to hasten gladly offering frankincense to the gods in praise of your family"). Yet tragically and ironically his only son turns against him in the bitterest way possible.

Twice Kelsios is referred to as being born from his father, a startling statement: τὸν καρπὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γαστρὸς (31. 3 "the fruit of my belly") and ἰδοὺ γὰρ πάρεστιν ὁ ἐκ σοῦ τεχθείς (31. 20 "for behold, he born of you is present"). The metaphor highlights the strength of Markianos' attachment to his son. This is given added force when Kelsios' teachers realise that he is determined to find Julian. They simply flee, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, ἐπειδὴ μονογενὴς ἦν τῷ πατρί (28. 3 "for they were afraid because he was his father's only child"). Their fear emphasises the seriousness of the situation. When it is evident how Kelsios feels, Markianos is simply in disbelief: πῶς ὁ υἱὸς ἀρνούμενος τὸν πατέρα οὐδὲ τὴν

μητέρα γινώσκει; (43. 13 "how can a son deny his father and not recognise his mother?"). The notion is absolutely inconceivable to him. He pleads with Julian, begging him to somehow release Kelsios from what he sees as enchantment: *μόνον μοι τὸν μονογενῇ υἱὸν περισώσατε* (43. 8 "only save my only son"). When he realises that there is no hope, the family go through the ritual of mourning: *διαρρήξας τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ὀδυρόμενος ἔλεγεν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σχεδὸν τεθνεώσης εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀναστρέφειν* (45. 3 "tearing his robes and grieving, he said that with his wife who was near to death, he would return home"). Finally, when the martyrs are led to the burning cauldrons the men in the crowd cry: *ὦ ἀδικία, καὶ ἡμεῖς τέκνα ἔχομεν* (42. 5 "O injustice, and we have children as well"). Family ties are widened to include the entire city. Thus the narrator of the text shows how strong is the bond which ties traditional Christian and pagan families together.

Yet this is not the concern of the *Life and Martyrdom*. In fact it presents a strong case for the negation of the family unit.

2.7.2a (ii) *The Denial of Family*

Almost from the beginning, Jesus' command (Matthew 10. 33-7) that "he that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me" is seized upon. It was written in the Book of Life that *οὐ πατέρα, οὐ μητέρα, οὐ γυναῖκα, οὐ τέκνα, οὐκ ἄγρους, οὐ πλοῦτον ἢ τὰ λοιπὰ...ὧν ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἶναι κατηξιώθητε* (7. 48-53 "[those who preferred nothing but the love for Christ, neither father, mother, wife nor children or land or wealth nor the other things...Among this number have you been deemed worthy to be included"). And once Julian and Basilissa establish their separate communities this starts to happen: *κατελίμπανον οὖν ἄνδρες γυναῖκας, τέκνα γονεῖς, μνηστοὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν μνηστὰς καὶ τὰς πατρῶας οὐσίας* 10. 14-15, "so men were leaving their wives, children their parents, fiancés their fiancées and also the paternal properties"). The climax comes when Kelsios converts in a very public and vociferous manner. Several times he declares: *ἀρνοῦμαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα* (29. 27 "I deny my father

and mother") or ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου μου ὑμᾶς τοὺς γονεῖς ἀπαρνοῦμαι (32. 7 "I, on behalf of Christ my master, utterly deny you my parents" cf. 32. 12; 32. 19; 51. 10). He rejects the idea of continuing the family line: ἡ πρόσκαιρος ἐχουσία διαδοχὴν περιμένει καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὕτη περαιοῦται θανάτῳ (28. 20 "the ephemeral power demands a succession and life itself ends in death"). Antonios the priest pushes home the extent of Markianos' personal loss in 53. 30-35: ὁ υἱὸς ὁ σὸς οὐ προετίμησέν σε τὸν σωματικὸν πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ πατρός. Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ ἦν λέγεις γυναῖκά σου, γνοῦσα αὐτὴ τοῦ δεσπότου τὴν φωνήν, κατεφρόνησέν σου τοῦ φθαρτοῦ καὶ τῆς προσκαίρου κοίτης, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἀθανάτου Χριστοῦ ἀναπαύσεως ἀξιωθῇ ("your son did not prefer you, his bodily father over Christ the father. Similarly the person whom you call your wife, recognising the message of the Lord, despised you, the mortal, and your corruptible bed, so that she would be deemed worthy of rest through the immortal Christ"). The message is very clear and stark in its intent and meaning.

But the text means to show an alternative to the conventional family. It replaces this historical, traditional and integral unit of society with the concept of the spiritual family.

2.7.2a (iii) *The Spiritual Family*

Extra-familial bonds were well documented throughout the Byzantine Empire. A strong affiliation was also formed by baptism whereby a godparent became in effect, a patron in his or her godchild's life. The relationship of *sunteknia* refers to the bond between the godfather and the child's father.¹⁰⁶ The connection became such an ingrained part of the culture that laws were eventually introduced denouncing a sexual relationship between a godparent and his/her sponsor. It was considered incest.¹⁰⁷ The net was cast wider when the Council of Trullo forbade the marriage between a godfather and the child's mother.¹⁰⁸ Canon law of the ninth century onwards also reflected the distaste felt for this type of union,

¹⁰⁶ C. Rapp, "Ritual Brotherhood in Byzantium", *Traditio* 52 (1997), 286-290, esp. 290.

¹⁰⁷ *Cod* 5. 4. 26.

¹⁰⁸ Canon 53.

an attitude also prevalent in the West. Pope Gregory related the story of a man who raped his young goddaughter.¹⁰⁹ The perpetrator thought he had escaped divine retribution when he attended the Easter services for six days afterwards without any sign of God's wrath. But he died suddenly on the seventh day. The moral focuses not so much on the sexual crime but the fact that the perpetrator had been given the chance to confess but did not. However his outrage is described as "terrible", reflecting the breach of the code concerning the relationship between a godfather and his godchild. It also shows a blatant disregard for the trust given by the child's natural parents.

The legal process of becoming brothers (*adelphopoieia*)¹¹⁰ was practiced from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries.¹¹¹ From the ninth century these connections became integral for future advancement in political circles, for example.¹¹² The story of the rise of Basil I (867-86), from nobody to Emperor, is instructive. He started his rapid progression through society by becoming a brother to either the son of an incredibly wealthy woman (Danelis) or to someone from Constantinople, depending on which source is used.¹¹³ The alliance forges a formidable link in society.

Thus the idea of very close personal relationships forged as an alternative to and parallel with the family bond was part of Byzantine society. What is different in *Julian and Basilissa* is that the covenant formed is not for personal promotion or with a political view in mind. It is not an additional or alternative bond to one's family; it is a replacement. It negates what we and the ancients perceive as society. It declares that it is essential to reject one's worldly mother and father because a spiritual family awaits. This is more complete, the rewards are more certain, and moreover, there is an overwhelming sense of community; a united purpose which, in the circumstances of persecution, would have been all the more reassuring. In a sense, Christianity itself is a spiritual family.

¹⁰⁹ J. H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986), 229 citing *Dialogi libri IV*. 33.

¹¹⁰ C. Rapp (1997), 286-290.

¹¹¹ *eadem* 290.

¹¹² *eadem* 304ff.

¹¹³ *eadem* 305-314.

This ideology frames the narrative. The relationship between Basilissa and her group of virgins and later Julian and his virgins is portrayed as that of mother and father respectively: ἐμὲ μητέρα (13. 27-8) and ἔχαιρεν ὁ πατήρ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ σπουδῇ τῶν τέκνων (16. 9). Julian later retorts to the assessor that his followers are not his disciples (μαθηταὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν) ἀλλὰ πατέρες· δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ τὴν ἀληθῇ γένναν ἐδεξάμεθα (18. 35 "they are not disciples but fathers. For through them, we have received true birth"). He points out that this relationship will lead to the Kingdom of Heaven: ἵνα τὰ τέκνα μετὰ τῶν πατέρων καὶ οἱ πατέρες μετὰ τῶν τέκνων βαδίζουσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν (18. 36 "so that the children with their fathers and the fathers with their children journey to the Kingdom of Heaven"). The message becomes more overt and socially disrupting when Kelsios rejects his worldly parents and announces that he recognises only Julian as his father: σὲ γινώσκω πατέρα δευτέρας γεννήσεως, ὃν ὁ δεσπότης μου Χριστὸς δείκνυσιν (29. 11 "I recognise you, father of my second birth, whom Christ my master reveals"). Not only is there a "natural" religious relationship of spiritual father/mother to son/daughter between the person who baptises and the person who is baptised, but now there is an actual replacement for a blood father and mother. There is an added twist when Kelsios' mother is baptised: ἐβάπτισεν τὴν γυναῖκα· ἣν ὁ μακάριος υἱὸς αὐτῆς Κέλσιος ἀνεδέξατο, πατήρ αὐτῆς γεγονὼς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι (50. 5 "he baptised the woman and her blessed son Kelsios received her, having become her (god)father in the baptism"). Thus the son becomes his mother's spiritual father in baptism. As a result, Kelsios knows that εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κτήσομαι τὴν μητέρα, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐμὲ κτήσεται υἱόν (51. 8 "I will possess my mother forever and she will possess me, her son"). The family of the earth cannot possibly reap the benefits of the spiritual family: ἐκείνῳ πιστεῦσαι ὀφείλω τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς μοι ἐπεισελθὴ διάδοχος, οὕτινος τῇ αἰωνιότητι συναφθεὶς τὸν θάνατον οὐ φοβηθήσομαι. Αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθὴς δόξα καὶ σεμνότης γένους (28. 21 "I must believe in this true Christ, in Whom I shall have no succession, by binding myself to His eternity. I will not fear death. For this is true glory and nobility for the family"). Οὐδεὶς διάδοχος refers to virginity and thus the cessation of

procreation. It is neatly juxtaposed with the use of συναφθεῖς, which normally is used for sexual intercourse. Kelsios points out that *this* is what is required for ἀληθῆς δόξα καὶ σεμνότης γένους.

2.7.2b JULIAN AND BASILISSA'S CELIBATE MARRIAGE

The ultimate denial of the worldly family unit would be a celibate marriage. Julian and Basilissa have exactly that. Gregory of Nyssa believed that reproduction (which should happen within marriage) produced fodder for death.¹¹⁴ The more people are produced, the more people are going to die. Death is therefore dissolved by virginity, an end in itself. No one is going to be born. These concepts are echoed in the text when the author describes the events of the day leading up to the couple's decision to have a celibate marriage.

There is a dramatic shift in vocabulary before and after the couple vow to remain virgin. For a virgin, to leave no memory of oneself, for time to end, is inevitable. Julian now "longs" (προσεδόκα) for the day of the marriage. This verb can also mean to have "an expectation of Christ; of the future life".¹¹⁵ So foundations are slowly being laid for a divine encounter brought about by Julian's actions. After the festivities have run their course, the bride (νύμφη) is brought out of her room (θαλάμος). Νύμφη is also the word used to describe virgins as brides of Christ or the spiritual ascent of the soul as a bride.¹¹⁶ Θαλάμος can be also translated as "bridal chamber" so it prepares the audience for the location of the expected scene where the unexpected will take place. Something momentous will happen in the bridal chamber where the marriage should be consummated. Yet we are well aware of Julian's beliefs and the promise made to him by God that both he and his bride will remain virgin (4. 10ff). The hour approaches where he has to lead her to the couch or bed (τὴν κλίνην) but κλίνη can also mean a bier. Imagery is building up. Fortified by the Lord, Julian leads Basilissa blithely into their bedchamber (κοιτών) whose other meanings include a

¹¹⁴ *Treatise on Virginity*, ch. 14.

¹¹⁵ G. W. H Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961).

¹¹⁶ *idem*.

grave. They smell the scent of lilies and roses where lilies symbolise virginity and roses are a euphemism for martyrdom.

Once Julian and Basilissa see the divine vision of Christ, Mary and the angels, that is, once they have vowed their promised celibacy to each other, these words are never used again. Instead, the word used for bed is στρωμνή, a neutral word translated as "bedding, bed/couch/mattress". Death has now been vanquished by their celibate marriage. The bed/grave/bier becomes a vague mattress/couch/bed. Sexual intercourse will not occur, "fodder for death" will not be produced. Thus death is overcome, virginity is a certainty and promises, with it, immortality. The connection between their marriage and their virginity is further emphasised when two angels crown them and unite their hands, reflecting the marriage ceremony. The angels cry from the side of Christ, "My soldiers, who defeated the ancient serpent's pleasure" (7. 14ff). It is their virginity *within* marriage that is highlighted and praised. It is for this that they are deemed worthy to join the rank of the angels. "You have won, Julian, you have won" (7. 10) is cried aloud from the king's side.¹¹⁷ From the queen's side is proclaimed, "You are blessed Basilissa, who consented in this way to the salvific advice and who spurned the illusions of this world, preparing yourself for everlasting glory" (7. 11ff). Their marriage is a first martyrdom for them, which is why the strength of "won" as opposed to "blessed" is emphasised for Julian. Julian and Basilissa's celibate marriage prove them worthy to be included in the immortal company of angels.

Moreover the couple even have children. They may not be able to physically produce children but by their commitment to God and their teaching of young men and women, these people are regarded as their children: ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ παῖδες οὓς δέδωκας ἡμῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο (11. 24 "behold, we together with the children whom You gave us, none of whom has died", cf. John 18: 9).

¹¹⁷ cf. 1 Cor 15: 54.

I have argued thus far that Julian and Basilissa's celibate marriage fits into a wider scheme of the spiritual family delineated in the text. In chapter one, the *Life* was located within a chronological trend of Christian couples leading celibate lives. Importantly, in so doing, B. de Gaiffier isolated an expression that is used, in variant forms, in all the tales discussed - Amoun, Martinianus and Maxima, Cecilia, Julian and Basilissa and also in later accounts. The phrase occurs during the scene in the bedchamber, where the virginal resolve is made. Using the Latin texts, de Gaiffier identified the following: in *Amoun* we have "cum intra nuptiales thalamos convenissent et data eis essent *cubiculi secreta silentia*"; for *Martinianus and Maxima*, "at ubi ventum est ut *cubiculi adirentur secreta silentia*"; *Cecilia* has "nox in qua suscepit una cum Valeriano sponso suo *cubiculi secreta silentia*" and *Julian and Basilissa* has "*datur silentium noctis*".¹¹⁸ Variations on this phraseology continue to the fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ What this suggests is a pattern, an indication that whilst these texts do not form an individual genre, they clearly influence each other. The main focus is on the avowal of virginity in the marital chamber on the wedding night, a key moment where consummation does not occur and the paradox begins. It is this moment that is accented, the moment when a married couple choose to neglect a key element of Christian marriage: not merely by deciding on chastity, a requirement for most spiritual welfare, but by opting for chastity within a relationship, as a mark of a spiritual covenant.

Whilst *Julian and Basilissa* places the greatest emphasis on chastity, celibacy and spirituality of all three saints' *Lives*, I argue that celibacy *within* the marriage plays the dominant rôle. The moment when the couple vow to remain virgin is not passed over lightly, as in the cases of Galaktion and Episteme and Andronikos and Athanasia. Here we have an astounding vision of Christ, Mary and the Holy Host. The couple's celibacy is praised, yet celebrated within a ceremony echoing the marriage rite. A crown is raised,¹²⁰ they are told to read "

¹¹⁸ B. de Gaiffier, "Intactam Sponsam Relinquens: a propos de la vie de S. Alexis", *AB* 65 (1947), 157-195, esp. 167 nt. 1.

¹¹⁹ *Idem*.

¹²⁰ *Julian and Basilissa*, 7. 20.

from the book of Eternal Life, which is set out on the couch..."¹²¹ and later, "Look and read what has been prepared for you on the couch and know that the Lord is faithful in His words".¹²² In other words, the rewards of the afterlife are given to them for their virginity within the context of the "couch", the marriage bed, their marriage. Their hands are then united, an action which is part of the marriage rite.¹²³ The entire text is set against a wider theme of the spiritual family, a framework within which marriage plays a key role. Events are described as if the couple were married. Thus their charges are described as their children.¹²⁴

Another instance of the importance of marriage in the text is substantiated by the Latin translation of the *Life* that was used by the redactor of the tenth-century *Life* of St. Alexis (*BHL* 289).¹²⁵ I reproduce below de Gaiffier's comparison of the texts. The Latin redaction of Julian and Basilissa is taken from the *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol I, 575-587.

Life of Julian

Hic beatissimus Iulianus ex
nobili familia ortus, illustris erat
in seculo; quem parentes unicum
pignus viscerum suorum dulcem
susceperant sobolem; quem omni
doctrina et sapientia imbuerunt
(ut non dialecticum, non rhetoricum
fugeret ingenium) omniumque
auctorum mundi sapientia.
Haec sibi bonus athleta Christi in
thesauro cordis sui captiva tenebat.

Life of Alexis

Fuit quidam vir vite venerabilis
in Romana urbe, nomine
Fimianus, regali nobilique exortus
familia, inlustris in seculo...
quem omni doctrina
et sapientia ita imbuerunt
parentes ut non dialecticum eum
non retoricum fugeret ingenium,
omniumque auctorum mundi
sapientiam hanc bonus adleta

¹²¹ *Julian and Basilissa*, 7. 16-17.

¹²² *Julian and Basilissa*, 7. 22-24.

¹²³ *Julian and Basilissa*, 7. 24-25.

¹²⁴ *Julian and Basilissa*, 11. 24-25.

¹²⁵ B. de Gaiffier, "Source d'un texte relatif au mariage dans la vie de S. Alexis *BHL* 289", *AB* 63 (1945), 48-55.

Legerat enim magistrum
 omnium Christianorum Paulum
 dicentem: Praeterit enim figura
 huius mundi. Et ne cum ipso
 mundo immundus praeteriret,
 se Deo carum exhibebat, ut
 sapientiam mundi stultitiam
 reputaret. Optabat enim semper,
 praetereunte mundo, sine
 sollicitudine esse cum Christo.
 amator catholicae fidei, ecclesiae
 sanctae quotidie liminibus adhaerebat,
 audiens sanctorum gesta laetabatur et
 his quae de sacris lectionibus
 legebantur, intentus auditor et
 operator erat; diemque nullum
 intermittebat quo non ad
 videndos sanctos properaret...

Hunc parentes cum viderent tanti
 animi intentione christianae
 religionis cultoribus adhaerentem,
 convocantes ad se venerabilem
 iuvenum his verbis hortabantur:
 'Dulcissimum nobis et venerabile
 pignus, audi genitorum tuorum
 salubre consilium, quod in
 venerabili lege christianae religionis
 per beatum apostolum Paulum,
 magistrum omnium Christianorum,
 doctrinis spiritualibus edocemur,

Christi captivam tenebat. Et sic
 utebatur mundo quasi non
 uteretur, apostolum sequens qui
 dixit: Praeterit enim figura huius
 sic mundi. Et nec cum ipso mundo
 immundus periret, sic se carum
 Deo exhibebat ut sapientiam huius
 mundi stultitiam reputaret.
 Optabat enim, praetereunte
 Erat mundo, sine sollicitudine esse cum
 Christo. Erat enim amator fidei,
 Ecclesie sanctae tamen quotidie
 liminibus aderens; quoscumque
 sanctos inveniebat, pedibus eorum
 prostratus, rogabat ut orarent pro
 illo qualiter anima eius salvaretur
 de inferno.

Hunc quum viderent parentes eius
 tanta animi intentione christianae
 religionis cultui adhaerentem,
 convocant ad se venerabilem et
 his verbis exhortantur:
 'Dulcissimum nobis et venerabile
 pignus, audi parentum tuorum
 salubre consilium, quod per
 venerabilem legem beatus Paulus
 apostolus docet cum dicit: Date
 filios vestros uxoribus et filias
 vestras date viris. Et iterum: Volo

qui dicit: Volo iuvenes
nubere, filios procreare,
patresfamilias esse, nullam dantes
occasionem maligno. Pro qua re
non solum ut nobis consentias
hortamur, quantum ut legi dominicae
obediens esse cognoscaris.' Ad
haec B. Iulianus

respondit parentibus: 'Nec
voluntatis est nec aetatis tempus ut
faciam quae hortamini...

Et completa oratione egreditur de
cubiculo laetus, vultus sui laetitia
parentum tristitias auferens, ait ad

eos: 'Ecce sicut desiderastis, quia
divino praecepto cognovi coniugium
mihi non esse peccati sed gratiae,
faciam quae hortamini.'

nubere iubenes, filios procreare,
parentes familias esse, nullam
dantes occasionem maligno. Et
idcirco non tantum ut nobis
consentias quantum ut lege
dominice obediens esse cognoscaris.'
Ad hec venerabilis puer
respondens parentibus dixit....

'Quia ex divino precepto cognovi
coniugium mihi non esse
peccatum sed gratiam, faciam que
hortamini.'

The last phrase quoted from *Julian and Basilissa*, "quia divino praecepto cognovi coniugium mihi non esse peccati sed gratiae, faciam quae hortamini", is not a strict translation from the Greek ἰδοὺ ὡς ἐπιποθεῖτε, ἐκ Θείας παραγγελίας ἔγνω τὸν γάμον μοι μὴ προφασιν ἀμαρτήματος εἶναι ἀλλὰ χαρᾶς.¹²⁶ In the Latin, προφασιν (occasion/pretext) is omitted and in translating χαρᾶς (joy), the redactor has misread or understood χάρις (grace).¹²⁷ *Alexis'* compiler freely adapts this alteration and also eliminates the preceding conversation between God and Julian where Julian is assured that his future wife will not pollute his virginity.

¹²⁶ *Julian and Basilissa*, 5. 3-5.

¹²⁷ B. de Gaiffier (1945), 53.

There are two consequences to this. Firstly in omitting the passage noted above, the tenth-century *Life* of St. Alexis presents the opposing view of marriage to that held in *Julian and Basilissa*. In *Alexis* his parents remind him of Paul's teachings that it is not harmful to take a wife and produce children. A statement then follows this advice concerning the "divino praecepto" which approves of marriage, citing it as a grace. In *Julian and Basilissa*, the "divino praecepto" is a secret injunction from God Himself, in favour of virginity; in *Alexis*, it is an instruction from God in favour of marriage.¹²⁸ De Gaiffier does warn of the dangers of reading too much into the text¹²⁹ yet it is possible to propose that tenth-century views on marriage, against the background of the laws promulgated by Leo VI, are reflected in the *Life*.

The second point concerns the evolution of *χαρὰς* to *χαρίς*. Due to this misunderstanding in the Latin translation, marriage is now regarded as a mystery and sacrament. This is perfectly illustrated by the seventh-century Luxeuil lectionary where the Latin translation of the *Life* is found illustrating the biblical lesson for Epiphany. The reading for the night of the vigil is John 2: 1-11, the Wedding at Cana, the greatest metaphor for the mystery of marriage itself.

All this evidence clearly demonstrates that Julian and Basilissa's subsequent veneration rested on their celibate *marriage*, as opposed to their celibacy in general. This is nowhere shown more distinctly than in the Mozarabic calendar where their spiritual union is glorified: "Deus...qui inter Iulianam et Basilissam magnam et spirituale connubii fedus statuisti, quo una coniuncti in gratia, spiritu non carne fructificarent...Omnipotens Dominus, qui Iulianam et Basilissam ita gratie sue opibus premunivit ut sic spiritualis coniugii copulo necterentur ne carnis commixtione ullatenus miscerentur, ipse vos ad eorum exemplum efficiat castimonie dono sublimes".¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *idem* 54.

¹²⁹ *idem* 54.

¹³⁰ *idem* 53, nt. 1 citing M. Férotin, *Le liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits Mozarabes* (Edizioni Liturgiche, Rome, 1912), col 93.

2.7.3 *ANDRONIKOS AND ATHANASIA*

Andronikos and Athanasia are a wealthy Christian couple. Their marriage appears to have been the standard agreement between two families known to one another: Athanasia is the daughter of Andronikos' fellow workman. The legality of their marital bond is emphasised, *συνῆπτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ νόμῳ γάμου θυγάτηρ τῶν ὁμοτέχνων τινός Ἰωάννης* 2. 29-30), in contrast to the other two versions of the narrative which merely state *ἔλαβε γυναῖκα*.¹³¹ The ages of the protagonists are not given nor is there any detail of their attitude towards their marriage. Thus we do not know if family pressure forced them to marry.

The couple have two children and it is only after they have fulfilled their Christian marital rôle that they decide to cease sexual relations. The reason for their decision is stated clearly: *οὕτως οὖν τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀποταξάμενοι, ὅλην τὴν ῥοπὴν παρέιχον τῷ πνεύματι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ πνεύματος*: "therefore having bid farewell to the flesh and all carnal desires, they devoted all their effort to the spirit and spiritual works" 3. 48-50). The other versions refer to *ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ σπουδὴ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων φιλοχρίστων*: "their zeal was with the other followers of Christ". Sex is thus considered a distraction from worthier occupations. There is no direct allusion to the pollution of intercourse but sex is certainly viewed for procreative purposes in accordance with Christian tradition, which they have indeed fulfilled.

The two are represented as united in mind and deed. Athanasia is as pious as her husband and carries out the same deeds of charity, which include bathing the poor and destitute and generally attending to their needs. Their whole life is devoted to living a godly existence. The narrator thus portrays how it is possible to lead a Christian way of life which is publicly acknowledged (*ἦσαν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδὸν οἱ μακάριοι οὗτοι...διαφερόντως στεργόμενοι*: "these blessed ones were loved exceptionally by almost everyone in the city" 3. 42-43) whilst leading a normal family life.

¹³¹ *ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα*: Coislin 283. For a comparison between the three narratives, see Appendix One.

The break comes with the untimely death of their children. The first contrast between the couple is planted when Athanasia returns home early from church to find both her children feverish and clearly seriously ill. Horrified, she throws herself between them. Andronikos comes home and thinking that his wife has overslept, berates her (ἤτιᾶτο τὴν σύζυγον 4. 76-77). In all three accounts this is the first proper scene of the drama. Andronikos is asserting his male authority and Athanasia's distraught reaction to her children's illness is portrayed as an innate female response (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλω τινὶ φορητὸν ἂν ὑπῆρξε μήτιγε μητρί καὶ ταῦτα φιλόπαιδι τὸ βλέπειν τῇ νόσῳ κάμνοντας ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς παῖδας, εἰ γὰρ καὶ φιλόθεος ἦν ἡ γυνή ἀλλά γε σπλάγχνοις τοῖς μητρικοῖς ἐκάμπτετο καὶ αὐταῖς δήπου ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῆς φύσεως: "This would not have been bearable to anyone else, especially a mother who loved her children so much, to see her children worn down by disease. For even though the woman loved God, she was nevertheless tortured by maternal love and indeed, by the demands of nature," 4. 70-75).

In the episodes resulting from the children's deaths, the characters of the protagonists are clearly delineated. Athanasia is distraught, physically throwing herself between her dying children and wishing to die with them. Inconsolable, she weeps that there is nothing left for her. The author steps in, gravely pronouncing that her reaction is natural for a mother and by implication, a woman. Andronikos however has a far more fatalistic approach to the situation. Once he realises the enormity of the situation, he immediately goes to pray in the church of St. Julian where his parents are buried. His first impulse is to seek God's help and his first captured words reflect his absolute belief in God's ultimate purpose, "the Will of the Lord be done". To push the point home, the narrator compares Andronikos to Job, a man who lost absolutely everything yet who still maintained a wholehearted trust in his God. Andronikos is endowed with the patience of Job. Accordingly he tries in vain to comfort the tormented Athanasia, telling her that their children are safe with God and will no longer suffer (εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν τεθνήκασιν ἀλλὰ Θεῷ πάντως ζῶσιν ὑφ' οὗπερ ἄρα καὶ προσελήφθησαν, σοφῶς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν τε κάκείοις οἰκονομήσαντος: "For

though they are dead to us, *they live in God*, by Whom they were received, Who wisely managed this for their and our own good" 5. 108-110). His philosophical view is skillfully contrasted with his wife's passionate outbursts.

The form of Andronikos' and Athanasia's reactions concerning their children's death remains consistent throughout the narrative: Athanasia is prone to depths of emotion, swayed by events: she wishes to die with her children and not even her husband can console her. Once Athanasia has received a divine vision from St. Julian (who more or less gives her the same advice as her husband), she decides to separate from Andronikos and enter a monastery. She claims that the desire for a monastic life had always been present but having children prevented her from fulfilling her longing (πρὸς τὸν ἡσυχίον βίον αὐτομολῆσαι· ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν τέκνων στοργὴ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν βίῳ παραμένειν ἀνέπειθε, "(it was a desire to give up a worldly life) and desert to the peaceful one. But my love for my children persuaded me to remain in life and worldly things" 6. 152-154). Andronikos does not agree immediately but asks her to think about it for a week. When she remains resolute, he agrees and they set off on their journey. Andronikos' prudence and cautiousness is again highlighted when he asks his wife to take some time to think about her decision, as if he knows that she is excitable.

The characterisation continues as the couple leave their house forever. Athanasia laments to see all the doors open and at the uncertainty of their future life ("...turning back and seeing all the doors of her own house standing open, looked up to Heaven and said with tears, 'God Who said in the past to Abraham, our forefather, *Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred.*, for Whose sake we now leave our native land. *Lead us forth by the right way...*'. With these words and many more, the most revered Athanasia prayed to God with tears flowing and left the city with her husband" 7. 177-191). She does not rejoice at the prospect of a future that she herself set in train.

The couple journey to Jerusalem. Having visited the Holy Fathers they set off to Egypt and end up in Alexandria. Andronikos makes the decision to travel to Sketis and it is here that the story doesn't quite fit: Athanasia tearfully begs

that he take her with him. Her initial fervour is dampened by her unwillingness to be separated from Andronikos when the moment actually arrives. This seems strange as it was she who initiated the idea of entering a monastery, an event that would inevitably mean their separation. However it is to no avail. Andronikos is resolute; women are forbidden at Sketis, but he promises her that he will return. The author seems to be portraying her initial eagerness almost as a whim that is in keeping with her character depicted thus far. We are dealing with an author with very firm views on what it is to be a woman and a man.

There is now a twelve-year separation of spiritual training, echoing the twelve years of married life they had prior to the death of their children.

The story restarts with both protagonists making their second pilgrimage to Jerusalem, this time separately. A "chance" encounter (we are told it is due to God's dispensation/management: "κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ" 9. 230) leads to the reunion of husband and wife. The catch is that Athanasia is disguised as a monk and thus a stranger to a husband. There is a further twist in that she actually recognises him as Andronikos but does not reveal her identity to him. They journey in silence to Jerusalem together, an echo of their initial pilgrimage as husband and wife and finally, as before, return to Egypt. Athanasia suggests that they both move to Oktokaidekaton. The idea of living together is initiated by the woman. Again, a seemingly impulsive act and also an act directed by emotion as the author implies that she does not want to "lose" her husband again. Andronikos agrees but insists that he first receive Daniel's blessing. Again his caution and prudence are emphasised.

Andronikos and Athanasia once again live together for another twelve years, συνῆν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀθανασίῳ ὁμόστεγος, ὁμοδίατος καὶ παντελῶς ἀχώριστος αὐτοῦ γνωριζόμενος: "he joined brother Athanasios, living under the same roof, eating together and being known as completely inseparable from him". 10. 276-277).

To all intents and purposes they live the same celibate form of life as they did after their children died. It is an idealised form of marriage but even better than the life they had before, since Andronikos' ignorance of the gender of his

companion emphasises the spiritual bond between them. The fact that Athanasia is aware of their connection is dismissed. Her rôle is to illustrate how it is possible to overcome the womanly defects of emotion, not to act the part of temptress in order to contaminate the perfect bond. Andronikos never once realises that he is living with his wife and she never tells him. Her silence can be viewed by the audience as all the more remarkable and praiseworthy when they remember the careful portrayal of Athanasia's character throughout the narrative. Her restraint concerning her true identity is phenomenal if they consider that this is the same woman who was earlier moved to such depths of emotion.

The story of Andronikos and Athanasia also generically falls into the literary category reserved for "transvestite saints"; tales of women who dressed as men, usually in order to flee a worldly situation. The woman's departure and subsequent disguise usually signalled a significant break from her customary way of life.¹³² Clothed in the garb of a monk or hermit, the woman achieves a level of sanctity unheard of for the female sex. Her disguise is usually revealed on her deathbed, much to everyone's amazement and there is eventual acknowledgement that a woman can overcome the barriers of her sex so as to become 'manly'.

Anson identified this phenomenon as the wish-fulfillment of male monastic fantasy. Women represented all that was evil to the male mind, especially those who made the desert their home. Chief amongst the moral themes governing the spiritually edifying tales was the battle to overcome the temptation of fornication. Moschos relates the story of Abba Elijah who gives a fellow female ascete some water, but "when she had departed, the devil began working against me on her account putting lewd thoughts into my mind. The devil gained possession of me and I could not bear the flame of lust".¹³³ The

¹³² J. Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif", *Viator* 5 (1974), 1-32, esp. 5. For this phenomenon see also E. Patlageán, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance", *Studi Medievali* III, 17 (2) (1976), 597-624; M. Delacourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and rites of the bisexual figure in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1961) and N. Delierneux, "Virilité physique et sainteté féminine", *Byzantion* LXVII (1) (1997), 179-243.

¹³³ John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, tr., J. Wortley (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1987), no. 19.

clearest formulation of the monks' belief is the statement of an elder who says, "Children, salt comes from water. But if it comes back to water, it is dissolved and disappears. So the monk comes from a woman, and if he comes back to a woman, he is undone and insofar as his being a monk is concerned, he dies".¹³⁴

Moschos also relates two tales of women who go to extreme measures to prevent men from being attracted to them. Women are still regarded as being the instigators of lust, just because they are women, but here they attempt to combat the feelings of temptation they inspire. In one story, a woman retreats into the wilderness for seventeen years with only a basket of soaked beans when she realised that a man found her attractive.¹³⁵ In a particularly shocking tale we are told of a woman who, on being told by an admirer that her eyes were her most attractive feature, immediately gouges them out.¹³⁶ Thus to have a woman living amongst monks would represent the ultimate temptation. In the "transvestite" tales, the women undergo terrible ordeals; being accused of rape or fathering children are two favourites. They always endure their punishments with the utmost humility, punishments for crimes of temptation to which the monks themselves are most susceptible. Anson views the ensuing castigation of the woman as atonement for the monks' own desires and ultimately, "their guilt is compensated by turning her into a saint with universal remorse and sanctimonious worship".¹³⁷

So where does this leave Athanasia? Simply, as a woman who stands apart from the others. She is unlike St. Margaret, for example, who disguises herself as a man to escape her wedding and on eventually becoming prior at a monastery, is accused of fathering a child. Margaret reveals her true identity on her deathbed.¹³⁸ Euphrosyne also dresses as a man to flee marriage. She seeks refuge in a monastery but her beauty attracts so many men that she is eventually placed in solitary confinement.¹³⁹ Anastasia *patrikia* wears her disguise

¹³⁴ *idem* no. 217.

¹³⁵ *idem* no. 179.

¹³⁶ *idem* no. 59.

¹³⁷ J. Anson (1974), 30.

¹³⁸ *idem* 11.

¹³⁹ AASS Feb 2: 533-544; J. Anson (1974), 15.

to escape the attentions of the emperor Justinian. Living as a hermit for twenty-eight years with the help of Abba Daniel, she dies without anyone ever realising her identity.¹⁴⁰

The initial focus of the narratives was on the flight from marriage or unwanted male attention. Of these, Margaret, Anastasia *patrikia* and Matrona are prime examples.¹⁴¹ The next step in the tales' evolution was to place heightened emphasis on the recognition scene, thus focusing more on the disguise.¹⁴² Euphrosyne's story displays a marvellous circularity: fleeing marriage, she becomes the monk Esmeraldus and ends up comforting her own father who is tormented by the thought of his missing daughter. This practice goes on for thirty-eight years! Euphrosyne eventually tells him the truth on her deathbed whereupon her father locks himself away in his daughter's cell until his own demise. He is eventually buried next to her.¹⁴³

Anson places Athanasia within this particular niche of recognition scene merely stating that she "foreshadows the disguised heroines of medieval romance. (But) more immediately...she simply remains one of a number of female monks whose legends conclude with some form of familial reconciliation".¹⁴⁴ But there is a stronger point to be made. Unlike the women described, Athanasia is the only one who dresses as a man in order to be *with* her husband, not escape from him. This is the material point. Anson's comment that this tale is based around "uxorial service" is thus justified.¹⁴⁵

What is also interesting is that the author of the tale does not denigrate Andronikos and Athanasia's marital bond. We are not told that the couple separate legally, that they undergo a divorce. Once they are reunited, they have a deconstructed marriage that is stripped to its essential framework. Emotion between the two is still evident and is willingly described by the author once he has clearly established that their bond is on a higher spiritual level. When

¹⁴⁰ AASS March 2: 40-41; J. Anson (1974), 14.

¹⁴¹ PG 116: 919-954.

¹⁴² J. Anson (1974), 14.

¹⁴³ *idem* 16.

¹⁴⁴ *idem* 15.

¹⁴⁵ *idem* 15.

Athanasia is dying she weeps, not for herself but for Andronikos. She does not refer to him as Father Andronikos but finally, simply as Andronikos, her brother: οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πάτερ τὸ κλαίειν ἐμοί...διὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν δὲ Ἀνδρόνικον: "I am not weeping for myself, father,... but for brother Andronikos" 11. 298-300). She has proved her worth and there is no longer any need to pretend.

After Athanasia's death, Andronikos realises that his constant companion for the past twelve years was actually his wife. He refuses to leave Oktokaidekaton and return to Sketis with Daniel but instead wants to die with his wife (τελευτῆσαι μὲ χρή 13. 338). It is noteworthy that he still recognises her as his wife (ἡ κυρία μου 13. 337). Clearly there is now a shift in attitude. Andronikos is valuing his earthly bond over his monastic/ascetic one. There is also an interesting reversal of character: just as Athanasia wished to die with her children and is consoled by her husband, Andronikos is comforted by his wife as she lies dying and subsequently he wishes to die with her.

The physical confirmation of this displacement occurs at the end of the account. Once Andronikos dies there is an argument as to where he should be buried. Daniel settles it by threatening that unless Andronikos is buried with his wife in Oktokaidekaton, Daniel himself will leave Sketis. And so it happens. Andronikos is buried beside his wife, a final affirmation of their holy marriage.

In conclusion, Andronikos and Athanasia have an idealised form of marriage that is celebrated despite its contradictory framework of celibacy and separation.

Celibacy was not of course, an alien concept in the lives of those men and women who made the desert their home. Chief amongst the moral themes governing the spiritually edifying tales was the battle to overcome the temptation of fornication. Amoun of Nitria also had a celibate marriage.¹⁴⁶ The story differs from the *Life* of Andronikos and Athanasia because Amoun is forced into a marriage and persuades his wife to live a life of continence, asking at first that they live apart from one another. "But she could not endure this

¹⁴⁶Palladius, *The Lausiak History of Palladius*, tr., W. K. Lowther Clarke (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, 1918), no. 8.

saying, 'Let us dwell in the same house but in different beds'. So he lived in the same house with her for eighteen years." Thus essentially the latter stage of Amoun's relationship is similar to Andronikos and Athanasia's. After eighteen years Amoun's wife, like Athanasia, decides that they should separate, though for different reasons: "it is just that we should live apart, you being a man and practising righteousness and I also eagerly following the same way as you. For it is absurd that you should live with me in chastity and yet conceal such virtue as you". Thus they separate. What is interesting is that their marital bond also is not terminated, there is no legal separation: "He used to see that blessed lady his wife twice each year". Thus communication is kept up and the lady is still referred to as Amoun's wife. Moschos also tells of the virgin priest and his virgin wife whom the priest "persuaded...to live with him in purity and continence".¹⁴⁷

Both these tales tell of a couple forced to marry and hence choosing a life of continence because they were not allowed to make their own decision concerning their sexuality independently. Where Andronikos and Athanasia differ is that their celibacy is not regarded as a primal factor in their life. They lead a very pious way of life and are widely considered to be doing so whilst they are having a sexual relationship. They have two children and once they have performed their familial/Christian duty, they then cease sexual relations. Their separation is caused by the death of their children. After they meet up again they resume a higher form of their marriage. Their new relationship is an adaptation of marriage that is essentially identical to the kind of life they had before their children died. Moreover, once Athanasia dies, Andronikos reclaims her as his wife. Finally the holy brothers tacitly confirm their bond by burying them side by side. The story of Andronikos and Athanasia is not simply about celibacy but the sanctity and holiness of the marriage bond.

¹⁴⁷ *idem* no. 105.

2.8 WIVES AND HUSBANDS

Thus far, marriage in all its manifestations has been explored. The distinctions between chaste, spiritual and celibate marriage have been elucidated. We have traced the transition from pagan to Christian marriage and seen how pagan practices continued, much to the Church Fathers' disgust. Each couple's celibate marriage has been analysed to provide three case studies of an alternative Christian marital relationship. I then argued that the fulcrum of each saints' *Life* is not simply virginity and celibacy, but virginity and celibacy *within* marriage and the results of this mutual decision. It is the key plot development around which the narrative unfolds.

The final section in this chapter will elaborate on the interactions between the women and the men in these tales. Though the *Lives* are chronologically and stylistically diverse, all are hagiographies that allow a general comparison. Examining the interactions between these couples who voluntarily forego consummation of their licit unions, allows an evaluation of the bonds between husband and wife as perceived by the hagiographer. If marriage equalled procreation then it follows that the absence of sex left no specific rôle for the couple as a unit. Technically, the man is a husband but not a father and the woman, a wife but not a mother. What does being a "husband" or a "wife" then mean? How does this affect their intra-marital discourse? With what are we left?

First a cautionary note. My aim is not to provide a general discourse on the values and ideals of Christian friendship or love; spiritual, erotic or otherwise. Moreover I am aware of the dangers of laying modern conceptions of "relationships" - the word itself is a modern construct layered in meaning - onto Byzantine literary creations. Reading too much into a text and over-identifying with the feelings laid bare, especially when dealing with a concept of such mutability and depth as "emotion", is to crush any significance of nuance, feeling or indeed rhetoric, which the text offers. As M. Mullett has remarked, "a discourse of desire does not automatically mean a real-life passion".¹⁴⁸ We are

¹⁴⁸ M. Mullett, "From Byzantium with Love", in *Desire and Denial*, ed., L. James (Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999), 3-22, esp. 21.

restricted by literary conventions, which in these instances are governed by a religious ideology. The authors are most likely to be male and moreover monks or clerics. Obviously it would be nonsense to try and mine the texts for subjective responses to the couples' marriages by the couples themselves. The texts cannot tell us how a "real" husband and wife would feel in a sexless marriage in the Byzantine Empire. We cannot find "real" evidence of what a husband and wife meant to one another. What we do have however are three unique texts that display open emotion between husbands and wives, a strength of feeling unusual in this type of Christian text, especially when it centres on the concept of celibacy.¹⁴⁹ My purpose in this thesis is not to show that this emotion can be assumed to represent the feelings of the average Byzantine husband and wife, but rather that its presence in the chosen hagiographies illustrates the importance of relationships, of marriage, in the texts.

Love is an over-used concept with a myriad of meanings in the modern age and we assume that when two people get married, they are "in love".¹⁵⁰ Obviously in the Late Antique/Byzantine world this concept was not the norm nor a requirement but what *was* expected from a legal union was sex. Without sex what would be the use of getting married? As Chrysostom so acidly remarks, "no man would choose to live with (a woman) if he were innocent of desire".¹⁵¹ With the removal of sex, comes the denigration of marriage. Yet in the saints' *Lives* all three women, Episteme and Athanasia in particular, go to extreme lengths to maintain their relationships.

What does this tell us about the women? In all three relationships the women need to be with their husbands. Even Basilissa, who never voices strong

¹⁴⁹ Averil Cameron has pointed out that romantic love appears in the twelfth-century novels whilst there was an appropriation of "erotic language for the religious sphere", see "Sacred and Profane Love" in *Women, Men and Eunuchs*, ed., L. James (Routledge, London and New York, 1997), 1-23, esp. 8-17.

¹⁵⁰ For the difficulty in finding evidence of love in the sources, see Averil Cameron, "The Ought and the Is" in *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*, ed., L. James (Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999), 205-213, esp. 211; 213: "...this leaves precious little room for affection and emotion to come through in the sources, however much we would like to find them. When they do, as in the novels or the letter collections, they surface generally in genres that are highly literary and highly artificial and so difficult to interpret."

¹⁵¹ Chrysostom, *Instruction and Refutation* in E. Clark (1979), ch 5, p. 179.

sentiment towards Julian and has her own separate monastery, does not use the latter as a means of distancing herself physically and emotionally from her husband. When rumours of persecution emerge, the pair consult one another and make a joint decision to continue their teachings. Though separation is enforced on Galaktion and Episteme and Andronikos and Athanasia in order to pursue ascetic training without the dangers of temptation, each couple is reunited thanks to the wife, who makes her own decision to remain with her husband. In Episteme's case, she is determined to follow Galaktion even though she knows it will lead to torture and certain death. Athanasia changes her actual identity to be with Andronikos. In this way she can still share a life with him, accept his unconditional friendship and reap spiritual benefit. It is all three saints' *relationships* that are the background for the hagiographers.

Where we hear the bias of the male hagiographers is when we see that it is the women who make the effort to preserve the relationship, as it were. But this statement belies a modern interpretation. Rather what we should see is a male author creating a strong woman. The women are depicted with marked characters and vast emotional depths. When their voices are heard, it is always in relation to their husbands, marriages or families. We first have an indication of Episteme's temperament when she complains to her father that Galaktion has refused to kiss her. She converts to Christianity because it is her husband's wish, not because she has received any divine visions, revelations or a promised afterlife. She becomes a Christian because this is the only way Galaktion will embrace her. Episteme then willingly gives away everything she owns to follow Galaktion into the unknown. She endures the eventual separation from him, secure in the knowledge that they will eventually be reunited. When she next makes clear her wishes, it is initially to argue with her religious superior, her deaconess, to be allowed to follow the captured Galaktion. Her bond with her husband supersedes that of her spiritual calling. She even gives vent to her fury to the governor himself. There is no practising of Christian temperance here. The sight of Galaktion being tortured fills her with anguish. The thought that these

are the trials of a martyr does not matter to her, what matters is that her husband is suffering and she cannot bear to see it.

Basilissa is an interesting case because she is seemingly innocuous in comparison with the fiery Episteme and the passionate Athanasia. She quietly follows Julian's example, agreeing with him in every instance, efficiently performing her God-given duty and is rewarded by a peaceful death and the promise of being reunited with her husband in heaven. Yet it is Basilissa who receives the magnificent visions, for example she sees the golden cross through which the voice of God speaks to her. Unlike Episteme and Athanasia, she can read (at least, there is no explicit mention of the fact for the other two). Like Julian, Basilissa teaches and preaches. She has sufficient authority and presence to be a great teacher to all the virgins who flock to her. Interestingly, far more explicitly than the other two heroines, Basilissa is considered an equal by her husband. Thus for example, when persecution falls upon Antinoopolis they consult with each other as to how best to cope with the situation.

It is also noteworthy that in all three cases, it is the women who are given the role of catalysts to the process of celibacy. Episteme initiates the debate by asking Galaktion about a dream she has after her baptism. He interprets it as a foreshadowing of heaven and from this it is an easy step to propose a life of celibacy and separation. On Julian and Basilissa's wedding night, it is only after Basilissa smells the scents of lilies and roses, that Julian is given the perfect opportunity to introduce the subject of virginity. Whilst in *Andronikos and Athanasia*, after the death of their two children, it is Athanasia who desires separation, moreover stating that it had always been her wish and only love for her children had prevented her from doing so.

Without sex to fulfill their procreative potential the women are given alternative rôles of devotion to their husbands. Comparable saintly figures such as Cecilia, and the anonymous brides (significant in itself) of Alexis or even Amoun, do not exhibit this emotion. Even in historical examples such as Melania,

the focus is on the celibate life. Melania merely regards Pinian as a hindrance.¹⁵² Figures such as Olympias, Chrysostom's close friend, fall into the category of women who failed to persuade their husbands to a life of continence but nevertheless remained virgins.¹⁵³ Palladius confusedly remarks upon another woman in the same plight, "I do not know what to call her, whether virgin or widow".¹⁵⁴ This situation was also very common in the West. Bede narrates how the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon queen Æthelthryth, managed to exclude from two husbands the delights of conjugal bliss. Her second husband finally let her enter a monastery after twelve years of frustration.¹⁵⁵ Christina of Markyate strenuously resisted the efforts of her family to trick her into consummating her marriage on her wedding night, which even included attempting to get her tipsy. "They hoped that the compliments paid to her by the onlookers and the accumulation of little sips of wine would break her resolution and prepare her body for the deed of corruption".¹⁵⁶ Brooke points out that this anecdote "seems a little far-fetched",¹⁵⁷ nevertheless, these and other stories paint a contradictory picture of celibate marriage. Here, the marriage bond is devalued. There is no ideal of a spiritual covenant but one partner is seen as a hindrance.

In our saints' *Lives* the men are given less ardent characters with respect to their wives. They are initially more concerned with the Christian message of salvation through the benefits of a celibate life. Galaktion shows no interest whatsoever in Episteme once he realises she is a pagan. Once he baptises his bride and convinces her that they are destined for a life apart, Galaktion happily undergoes ascetic training giving her no further thought. Interestingly he refuses to see her during their years on Sinai even though actively encouraged to do so by his fellow ascetics. This is probably due to temptation and he puts off the

¹⁵² "The young man, however, was still desirous of worldly glory. Although she frequently asked him to keep bodily chastity, he could not agree, saying that he wanted to have another child...Therefore the saint kept trying to flee and to leave him all her possessions", *The Life of Melania the Younger*, tr., E. Clark (Edwin Mellen, Lewiston, 1984), chs. 3-4, p. 29.

¹⁵³ Chrysostom, *Lettres à Olympias*, ed., A.-M. Malingrey, SC 13 (Paris, 1947).

¹⁵⁴ Palladius, *LH*, 67.1.

¹⁵⁵ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* iv. 19, eds, B. Colgrave and R. A. B Mynors (OMT, 1969), 390-391.

¹⁵⁶ *The Life of Christina of Markyate* ed. & tr., C. H. Talbot (Oxford, 1987), 48-49.

¹⁵⁷ C. N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989), 146.

reunion "until it is the necessary time".¹⁵⁸ When Episteme flies to join him after his capture, he spends his time instructing and preparing her for their eventual torture. This is all very conventional behaviour. Galaktion never displays or reciprocates the feelings that Episteme lavishes on him.

Julian has no intention of marrying and only succumbs after God Himself promises that he will not be defiled. As mentioned earlier, he regards Basilissa as an equal and with seriousness, not questioning that she should have her own monastery and flock, or her suitability as a preacher, teacher and general authority figure to the thousands who flock to them. She dies whilst they are praying together and he ensures that she is given appropriate prayer and burial. The author of the *Life* gives the promise of their eventual reunion just before Julian is about to undergo his final fatal punishment. Basilissa appears to the martyr telling him that he will soon join her in heaven and that she is waiting for him. This is a telling moment. Right at the end of the tale, when we know that Julian will surely die, Basilissa is brought back as a reminder of their marriage, for which they were deemed worthy to be praised and which has rewarded her, by reuniting her with her husband in heaven.

Andronikos gives us the clearest image of what it meant to be a Christian husband. We are given valuable insight into a couple's daily married life before and after they vow to lead a celibate life, the example of a husband and wife who cease sexual relations after they have produced the requisite children. But this is not the turning point in the story. It is almost casually remarked that the reason for the decision was in order to devote more time to God and for Christian zeal and duty. But this situation where they continue living together cannot go on until death separates them. There is never a detailed example of a couple living in a celibate relationship forever without interruption. Like Amoun and his wife, Andronikos and Athanasia have to separate. Perhaps it was simply impossible to believe that the situation was workable, given human nature. Temptation for either or both parties was always a distinct possibility. Paulinus of Nola who

¹⁵⁸ *Galaktion and Episteme* 10. 254-255.

eventually led a continent life with his wife Therasia, "advised people at least to abstain from conjugal relations for long periods, to make it easier to pray as the state of marriage made it almost impossible to do so".¹⁵⁹ When at last we do discover tales of married couples who live in complete chastity, in the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Saying of the Desert Fathers*, such as the couple who wore hair-shirts at night, their chastity is kept a total secret.¹⁶⁰

In Andronikos and Athanasia's case the death of their children heralds their separation, a plausible reason. We have already noted how Andronikos' character is carefully delineated by an author who evidently had clear ideas on what it meant to be a man and a woman. Where Andronikos is particularly interesting is that the author subverts the male-female roles at the end of the story. This does not happen to either Galaktion or Julian. We have an Andronikos who inconsolably weeps for the imminent death of his brother-monk. A man who defies Daniel his spiritual father, whom he has always obeyed explicitly, by refusing to return to Sketis.¹⁶¹ Andronikos disobeys Daniel because he wishes to die with his wife, an action occurring after an ascetic training that supposedly suppresses all worldly feeling. This is the reverse of the Andronikos who does not weep when his children die, who decides to go to Sketis leaving his wife behind, even though she begs him to take her with him. We have a gendered rôle reversal. The couple's marital bond is given final confirmation by the Desert Fathers who bury them together.

Affection in marriage had always been recognised and acknowledged from Roman times.¹⁶² Yet marriage essentially remained contractual. Augustine was unique among Christian writers in describing the social bond between man and woman, stressing the level of companionship that could be attained in matrimony. However it was not until the twelfth century that western secular and ecclesiastical authorities fully emphasised the concept of love between

¹⁵⁹ Chrysostom, *La virginité*, eds, H. Musurillo and B. Grillry, SC 125 (Paris, 1966), 29-32; 38.

¹⁶⁰ *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* XX. 3.

¹⁶¹ See P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978), 18-32 for the relationship between "masters and disciples".

¹⁶² S. Tregiarri (1991), 253-261.

husband and wife.¹⁶³ What is interesting is how they used this emotion to resolve the paradox of celibacy and marriage, with particular reference to Mary and Joseph.¹⁶⁴ Hugh of St Victor re-interpreted the proclamation of Genesis: "the two shall become one flesh", reasoning that the Latin for "to join" or "to be united with" (*adhaerere*), did not only mean a sexual union. The covenant was also one of spiritual love: "de affectu cordis et vinculo socialis dilectionis" (the affection of the heart and the bond of love by which man and wife live together).¹⁶⁵ "Thus marriage is contracted by consent (*consensus maritalis*) and not by consummation (*coitus*)".¹⁶⁶ In this judgement, Hugh goes back to Ulpian.

But this is in the West. In the East we have the Orthodox position of marriage validated by its role in the continuation of the human race. Virginity and celibacy are exalted as ascetic ideals. We further see a paradigmatic shift of erotic language, imagery and symbolism to describe ascetic endeavour. Origen's commentaries on the Song of Songs did much to lend the vocabulary of erotic love to the religious sphere.¹⁶⁷ Averil Cameron has illustrated their effect on writers from Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome to John Klimakos.¹⁶⁸ Desire, and the battle for its extermination, is the language of the Desert and Church Fathers. Affection *per se* is not given much space. In an Eastern Christian context, the fact of celibacy is deemed more important than its effect on the marriage. This is revealing in itself. The couple are married in name alone. Thereafter they (eventually) live apart and any social contact between the pair is limited to actions carried out in the name of Christian deeds. What is exciting and important in the three chosen *Lives* is that celibacy is meaningful and necessary but this demanding concept does not mean that there cannot be a relationship, a personal interaction between partners. What we have are examples of mortal, earthly, human impulses performed in the name of

¹⁶³ J. Leclercq, *Monks On Marriage: a Twelfth-Century View* (The Seabury Press, New York, 1982). See also G. Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models From Twelfth-Century France* (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 1978).

¹⁶⁴ C. N. L. Brooke (1989), 53.

¹⁶⁵ Hugh of St Victor, *On the Virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary* in J. Leclercq (1982), 25-26.

¹⁶⁶ J. Leclercq (1982), 25; C. N. L. Brooke (1989), 128-131; *Digest* 35. 1. 15; 50. 17. 30; 24. 1. 32. 13.

¹⁶⁷ Averil Cameron (1997), 10-14.

¹⁶⁸ *eadem* 12-15.

devotion/warmth/affection/respect/love. Episteme cannot bear seeing her husband suffer pain, knowing that this is what a martyr has to undergo. Athanasia is content to live a harsh monastic desert existence for twelve years as a man in order to be near and valued by her husband. We might say that these are women who love their husbands. The purpose of this thesis is to show that marriage, as partnership and bond, is essential to each saints' *Life*, and not simply celibacy, even if the essence of Christian marriage, sex and thus procreation, is eradicated. The *Lives* have been bequeathed to us as stories of two people in one situation in direct contrast to, for example, Cecilia, Melania and Alexis. The latter are not known as the *Lives* of Cecilia and Valerian or Melania and Pinian. In their cases, their celibate marriages really are about celibacy rather than marriage. But Galaktion and Episteme, Julian and Basilissa and Andronikos and Athanasia's life stories are important because of their marriages, their celibate marriages, and it is this phenomenon that has generated their continued veneration for hundreds of years.

CHAPTER THREE

The Life and Martyrdom of Galaktion and Episteme

3.1 Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ὁσιομαρτύρων Γαλακτίωνος καὶ Ἐπιστημης.

1. Διήγησιν ξένην καὶ παράδοξον ἀκούσατε σήμερον παρ' ἐμοῦ,
ἀγαπητοί, ἥτις ἐστὶ χρήσιμος ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς· καὶ γὰρ
5 ὑπάρχει λίαν ὠφέλιμος, ἐάν τις οὐ μόνον ἀκροατῆς γένηται
ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητής,¹ ὥς ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος νουθετῶν
διαλέγεται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ,
ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται. Καὶ γὰρ ἐάν τις
ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξῃ θησαυρὸν κεκρυμμένον, μὴ δύνασθε πλουτῆσαι ἐκ
10 τοῦ ὑποδείγματος, εἰ μήτιγε κόπῳ πολλῷ καὶ μόχθῳ διορύξαντες
τοῦτον καρπώσησθε· οὐμενοῦν τούτου χάριν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς,
πεποθημένοι μου ἀδελφοί, ἵνα μὴ ἐν παρέργῳ δέξησθε ἥνπερ
ὑμῖν μέλλω διηγῆσασθαι πολιτείαν καὶ μαρτυρίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην
ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἀκριβῶς ἱστορήσαντες καὶ ἀληθινῶ
15 πόθῳ ἐγγράψαντες σπεύσητε τῷ ταύτης ζήλῳ ποιηταὶ γενέσθαι
καὶ οὐκ ἀκροαταί. Καγὼ γὰρ ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ ἐλάχιστος
Εὐτόλμιος, ὁ ταύτην ὑμῖν τὴν ψυχωφελῆ ἱστορίαν προθέμενος, εἰ
καὶ αὐτόπτης γέγονα καὶ ὑπηρέτης τῶν τῶν ἐμῶν δεσποτῶν
ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ ἀθλημάτων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐζήλωσα τούτων τὸν
20 ἀγγελικὸν καὶ ἀσμάτον βίον, ἐμπαθῶς πολιτευσάμενος καὶ τὴν
σάρκα μᾶλλον ποθήσας ὑπὲρ τὸ πνεῦμα. Ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο ὑμᾶς
ζηλωτὰς γενέσθαι ἀμελοῦς καὶ ῥαθύμου καρδίας· ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ
τὸ λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ ἀσφαλές.² Οὐ γὰρ
κατακρύπτω τὸ τάλαντον, ὅπερ ἀναξίως πιστευθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ
25 Κυρίου ἡξίωμαι, πρὸς περισσοτέραν ἀμυναν τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκερδείας
καὶ ἀεργίας, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς παρατίθημι, ὀφειλέτας
ποιῶν ὑμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ εἰρηκότος τῷ πονηροτάτῳ κατ' ἐμὲ

¹ Rom 2:13, cf Ja 1:22

² cf Phl. 3.1

δούλω· Διὰ τί τὸ τάλαντόν μου οὐ παρέθου τοῖς τραπεζítais·
 καὶ γὰρ ἐλθὼν σὺν τόκῳ ἀνειλόμην αὐτό.³ Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς,
 30 ἀγαπητοί, ὅπως μὴ εἰς τὴν τοῦ λόγου μου βλέψητε βεβηλότητα
 καὶ εὐτέλειαν· ἀμαθὴς γάρ εἰμι καὶ εἰκότως οὐκ ἰσχύσω τὴν
 διήγησιν ὑμῖν ἐν πείρᾳ ποιήσασθαι· ἀλλ' οἶδα ὑμᾶς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς
 τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοῦ λόγου βλέποντες ἀναβάλλεσθε τὴν διήγησιν,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς πίστεως ταπεινόν μου ἀπόφθεγμα
 35 εὐπειθήσαντες τὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἱστορεῖσθαι μέλλοντα ἀκούσετε
 βίον σὺν μαρτυρίῳ.

2. Ἦν τις ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἑμέση εὐγεὴς καὶ ἔνδοξος ὥς οὐκ
 ἄλλος τις ἦν κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐκόμα πλούτῳ πολλῷ καὶ
 περιφανῆς ἦν εἰς τὰς πέριξ πόλεις καὶ χώρας, ὀνόματι
 40 Κλειτοφῶν· ἐκέκτητο δὲ γυναῖκα ὠραιότατην, θυγατέρα γεγонуῖαν
 Μέμνονος τοῦ τοπάρχου, ὀνόματι Γλευκίππην· Ἦν δὲ στεῖρα καὶ
 οὐκ ἔτικτεν, ὥς ἐκ τούτου μεγίστην λύπην καὶ ἀλγηδόνα ἔχειν.
 Ὦνειδίζετο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς καθ' ἡμέραν.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἡγεμονεύειν Σεκοῦνδόν
 45 τινα ἄνδρα ἀπηνῆ καὶ ὠμότατον καὶ ἀντικείμενον τῇ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ ποιμνῇ· ὅστις τοσοῦτον τοὺς χριστιανούς ἐλεηλάτει
 πληρῶν τὰς ἀμφόδους ἤδη βασάνων καὶ παντοίων κολαστηρίων
 ὀργάνων, ὥστε, εὕρισκομένων τινῶν χριστιανῶν, παραυτὰ ἐκ
 μόνης τῆς θεᾶς κακηνκάκως ἄνευ ἐρωτήσεως ἀναλωθῶσιν·
 50 ἕκαστος τοίνυν τῶν εὐσεβῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν
 ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ κρατούμενοι ἔφευγον, ἄλλοι
 δὲ ἑαυτοὺς προεδίδουσαν, ἕτεροι δὲ δειλαινόμενοι ἐκρύπτοντο· ἐξ
 ὧν μοναχὸς τις τοῦνομα Ὀνούφριος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σχῆμα μὴ
 ἀποβαλλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἔνδοθεν αὐτὸ ἡμφιεσμένος περιβέβλητο
 55 ἔξωθεν ἱμάτια παλαιὰ λευκὰ καὶ πολύρραφα· καὶ ἦν

³ cf Lu 19:23

περιερχόμενος ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον καὶ ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν δίκην
 πένητος αἰτῶν ἐλεημοσύνην· ὅς ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας
 πέφθακέ ποτε καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ δεσπότου μου οἴκῳ. Ἦν δὲ
 τυφθεῖσα ἡ κυρία μου τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ σφοδρῶς παρὰ τοῦ
 60 ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς· πάνυ γὰρ ἐχθρωδῶς διέκειτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ
 αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν στείρωσιν αὐτῆς. Ἐγγίσας οὖν ὁ μοναχὸς τῷ
 πυλῶνι, ἤτησεν ἐλεημοσύνην.

3. Ὁργισθεῖσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέστειλεν μίαν τῶν παιδισκῶν αὐτῆς
 κλείσαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πύλην. Ὁ δὲ μακροθυμήσας μικρὸν καὶ
 65 ὥς ἔθος πένησι πάλιν αἰτήσας, ἔκαμψεν πρὸς ἔλεον τὴν τῆς
 κυρίας μου ψυχὴν· καὶ ἀποστείλασα εἰσήγαγε τὸν γέροντα εἰς
 τὴν οἰκίαν. Οὐ μέντοι γε ἤδει, ὅτι χριστιανὸς ἦν μονάζων τῷ
 σχήματι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχον
 εἰδωλομανεῖς πεποίθησιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ τῆς
 70 Ἀρτέμιδος εἰδωλον. Ὡς οὖν εἰσῆει ὁ μοναχὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 χρείαν τῆς αἰτήσεως ἐλάμβανεν, ἐστέναξεν ἐκ βάθους καρδίας ἡ
 κυρία μου Γλευκιππη. Ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς φησι πρὸς αὐτήν· Τί
 ὀδυνηρῶς, κυρία μου, διακειμένη οὕτως ὀλολύζεις πικρῶς; ὁρῶ
 γὰρ σε ἔνδον κεκτημένην θλίψιν ἀπαραμύθητον. Ἦ δὲ πρὸς
 75 αὐτὸν ὥς θεόθεν κινουμένη ἀντέφησεν. Ἀπαιδίας καὶ στερώσεως
 νόσῳ κεκράτημαι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ συζύγου μού ποτε μὲν
 κολαφίζομαι, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζομαι ἐν ὀλίγοις τε καὶ διώκομαι·
 ἱατροῖς γὰρ καὶ φαρμακοῖς τὸν βίον μου διὰ ταύτην μου τὴν
 ἀπαιδίαν ἐκδαπανήσασα καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα ἐπὶ πλείον
 80 ἐπιπλήττω μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὀδυνηρῶς ζῶ. Ὁ δὲ τίμιος γέρων
 φησὶ πρὸς αὐτήν· Καὶ ποίῳ θεῷ λατρεύεις; Ἦ δὲ εἶπεν Τῇ
 μεγίστῃ θεᾷ Ἀρτέμιδι. Τότε ὁ γέρων ἔφησε θαρσαλέως· Δικαίως
 οὐκ ἔστι σοι τέκνον· οὐ γὰρ πέποιθας ἐπὶ θεὸν τὸν ἰσχύοντα
 δοῦναί σοι καρπὸν κοιλίας.

85 4. Ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἔφη· Καὶ ποίῳ τοίνυν θεῷ λατρεύσω,
 ἵνα μοι δώσῃ ταύτην τὴν χάριν· Ὁ δὲ γέρων φησὶν· Χριστῷ τῷ
 ἀληθινῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ τούτου πατρὶ καὶ τῷ τούτοις συνδοξαζομένῳ
 ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Ἡ δὲ φησιν πρὸς τὸν γέροντα· Μὴ τὸν θεὸν μοι
 90 λέγεις ὃν λατρεύουσιν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι· Ὁ δὲ γέρων φησὶ πρὸς
 αὐτήν· Ναί, τοῦτόν σοι καταγγέλλω τὸν ἐκτείναντα τὸν οὐρανὸν
 καὶ θεμελιώσαντα τὴν γῆν, τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
 πᾶσαν πνοὴν δημιουργήσαντα. Ἡ δὲ Γλευκίππη πρὸς τὸν
 γέροντα εἶπεν· Πτοοῦμαι, ἄνθρωπε, τὸν ἄρχοντα Σεκοῦνδον,
 μήπως γνῶ καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀπαιδίᾳ στερήσῃ με καὶ τῆς ζωῆς. Οὐ
 95 γὰρ δύναμαι βασανιστήρια ὑπομεῖναι. Ὁ δὲ γέρων φησὶ πρὸς
 αὐτήν· Σὺ λάβε τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου
 βαπτίσματος καὶ ἔσο κρυπτῶς λατρεύουσα τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα,
 πράττουσα τὰς ἐντολὰς ἃς παραδώσω σοι. Ἡ δὲ Γλευκίππη
 λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Εἰ ἐγώ, πάτερ, πιστεύσω καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς σύζυγος
 100 ἄπιστος μείνῃ, ἀρά γε οὐ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἄπιστον ἄπρακτος
 διαμείνῃ ἢ πίστις μου;⁴ Πάλιν δὲ ὁ γέρων ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν·
 Οὐχί, γύναι· ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐν τῷ
 ἰδίῳ νοῖ πληροφορεῖσθαι. Σὺ δὲ ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πεισθῇς, καὶ σεαυτὴν
 καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα σου σώσεις· ὁρᾷς γὰρ καμὲ πῶς διὰ τὸν φόβον
 105 τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡλλοίωσα σχῆμα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁρῶμαι
 ὡς κοσμικὸς καὶ ἐνδεής, μοναχὸς ὢν τῷ σχήματι καὶ ἱερεύς.
 Τούτοις καὶ ἑτέροις πλείοσι λόγοις στηρίξας τὴν γυναῖκα ὁ
 γέρων ἐκίνησεν αὐτήν πρὸς ζῆλον θεοπρεπῆ, καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ ἡ
 γυνή· Πάτερ, δύνασαί μοι δοῦναι τὸ βάπτισμα ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ·
 110 Ὁ δὲ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτήν· Ναί· καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ὕδωρ, ἰδοὺ ἡ ὥρα.⁵
 Τότε διαταξαμένη τὰς παιδίσκας αὐτῆς ἕνα τῶν πίθων γεμίσει,

⁴ cf 1 Cor 7:13

⁵ cf Mt 26:45, Jo 16:32

ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὴν λάθρα ὁ μοναχός, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ χριστιανοῖς, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

- 115 5. Διδαχθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μυστήρια τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ἐντολὰς λαβοῦσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, δοῦσα αὐτῷ δαψιλῶς τὰ πρὸς ἐπισιτισμὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν ἡ Γλευκίππη, δυσωπήσασα αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπλαθέσθαι αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πυκνοτέρως ἐπισκέπτεσθαι αὐτήν· ὅθεν τούτου γενομένου, προσεπενοήσατο
- 120 νοσεῖν ἡ Γλευκίππη ὀκτῶ ἡμέρας, λέγουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ· μήπως μολύνω μου τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐν τῷ συγκαθεύδειν με τῷ ἀνδρί μου καὶ ἔσομαι ὡς περιφρονοῦσα τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν, συνέλαβεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐν γαστρὶ· καὶ ὅτε ἤρξατο ἐγκυμονεῖν, ἔχαιρεν σφόδρα ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς καὶ
- 125 λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· "Νῦν ἔγνων, κυρία μου, ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐηρέστησας καὶ ἐχαρίσαντό σοι καρπὸν κοιλίας. Πορευθῶμεν οὖν καὶ θύσωμεν αὐτοῖς." Ἡ δὲ μέγα στενάξασα φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλειτοφῶντα· ὦ ἄνερ φίλτατε, Θεός μοι ἐφάνη κατ' ὄναρ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς συλλήψεως καὶ ἦσαν αἱ παλάμαι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ζύλου
- 130 ἐκτεταμέναι καὶ οὗτος μοι τὴν χάριν ταύτην ἐδωρήσατο. Εἰ οὖν θέλεις, κύριέ μου, αὐτῷ μᾶλλον θύσωμεν." Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς φησι πρὸς αὐτήν· "Γύναι, τοῦτον ὃν κατ' ὄναρ ἐθεάσω Θεόν, Θεός ἐστι τῶν Γαλιλαίων· ἤκουσα δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὅτι θαυμαστὰ τέρατα ἔοικε πράττειν." Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή·
- 135 "Κύριε, καὶ τί οὐ πιστεύομεν εἰς αὐτόν, εἰ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἰσχυρός, ὅστις καὶ τὰ τῆς στειρώσεώς μου δεσμὰ διέλυσεν." Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη· Οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὸν θυμόν, ὃς ἀποκτένειν οὐ παύεται τοὺς τοιούτους· Ἡ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ κρυπτοὶ ἐσόμεθα σεβόμενοι αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν
- 140 τῷ φανερῷ ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῖν, πραγματευσώμεθα τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν.

‘Ο δέ φησι· Καὶ τίς ἡμᾶς διδάξας μυσταγωγήσει· Τότε ἡ
 Γλευκίππη θεασαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα εὐπειθήσαντα πρὸς τὴν πίστιν
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πίπτει πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ
 πάντα τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῇ ἐν λεπτῷ καὶ ὅτι χριστιανὴ γέγονεν.
 145 Ὑποδείξασα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν τίμιον καὶ εὐλαβέστατον μοναχόν,
 κατηχθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
 πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

6. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φθάσαντος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν καιροῦ, ἔτεκεν
 ἡ γυνὴ παιδίον ἄρσεν· καὶ ποιήσαντες τὰ εἰωθότα, ἐβάπτισε καὶ
 150 αὐτὸ ὁ μοναχὸς εἰς τὸ τῆς Ζωαρχικῆς Τριάδος ὄνομα καὶ
 ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Γαλακτίωνα· καὶ προεφήτευσεν περὶ
 αὐτοῦ ὁ μοναχὸς τοιαῦτα καὶ εἶπεν· Τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐν
 οὐρανοῖς τὸ πολίτευμα ἔξει, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγείων καταφρονήσει, μὴ
 φεισάμενον ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀνδρυνθέντος δὲ τοῦ παιδίου, παρέδωκαν
 155 αὐτὸ οἱ γονεῖς πρὸς μάθησιν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων· καὶ
 τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο ὁ τίμιος καὶ ἱερὸς παῖς εὐμαθής, ὥστε
 εὐχερώς διελθεῖν τὴν προπαίδειαν καὶ μαθεῖν πᾶσαν γραμματικὴν
 καὶ ὁμηρικὴν τέχνην, ῥητορικὴν τε καὶ φιλοσοφικὴν· ἀστρονομίαν
 δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κατώρθωσεν, ὥστε ἀερίων κίνησιν μὴ ἀγνοεῖν
 160 αὐτόν.

Γενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν εἰκοσιπέντε, ἡβουλήθη ὁ πατὴρ
 αὐτοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῷ γυναῖκα, τῆς τιμίας αὐτοῦ μητρὸς
 Γλευκίππης μακαρίῳ τέλει χρησαμένης· ὅθεν εὐρὼν κόρην τινὰ
 εὐμορφοτάτην πάνυ, θυγατέρα τινὸς τῶν μεγιστάνων, ὀνόματι
 165 Ἐπιστήμην, ὠρμάσατο αὐτήν, καὶ ποιήσαντες τὰ μνηστήρια,
 ἀπήρχετο ὁ μακάριος Γαλακτίων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς νέοις,
 πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μνηστήν· οὐ μέντοι δὲ ἡσπαζετο αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ
 μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.

7. Ἡ δὲ Ἐπιστήμη εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ ὁ πατήρ φησι τῷ
 170 γαμβρῷ αὐτοῦ· Εἰπέ, νεώτερε, τίνος χάριν οὐκ ἀσπάζη τὴν
 μνηστήν σου, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς νέοις· Ὁ δὲ Γαλακτίων
 προφασισάμενος αἰδεῖσθαι, λέγει πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην μηδενὸς
 εἰδότος ἢ ἀκούοντος· Οἶδας, γύναι, τίνος χάριν οὐκ ἀσπάζομαί
 σε· Ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐχι, κύριέ μου, καὶ πάνυ λυποῦμαι περὶ
 175 τούτου· Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος Γαλακτίων· Διότι οὐχ ὑπάρχεις
 χριστιανή, ἀλλ' ἐὰν λάβῃς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, τότε καὶ
 ἀσπάζομαί σε καὶ καλῶ σε σύζυγον· Ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὅτε
 βούλει, κύριέ μου, βαπτισθήσομαι· μόνον τύχω τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
 μου· Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος Γαλακτίων· Ἡ ἱερωσύνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐκ
 180 τοῦ γένους τῶν χριστιανῶν· σὺ οὖν προσποίησαι αὔριον τοῦ
 λούσασθαι ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μετὰ ὀθονίου καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι ἐγὼ
 μετριάζων καὶ βαπτίσω σε· Ποιησάσης δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ
 διατεταγμένον αὐτῇ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὴν ὁ μακάριος Γαλακτίων εἰς
 ἐν τῶν ὑδροχείων εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ
 185 τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

8. Τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολουσαμένη λέγει πρὸς τὸν μακάριον
 Γαλακτίωνα ἡ ἁγία Ἐπιστήμη· Οἶδας, κύριέ μου, τί κατ' ὄναρ
 ὁρῶ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα εἵληφα· Λέγει αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνος·
 Εἰπέ, κυρία μου, τί ὁρᾷς· Λέγει αὐτῷ· Ὅρῳ παλάτιον πάνυ
 190 κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τρεῖς χοροὺς ψάλλοντας· καὶ ὁ μὲν
 εἷς χορὸς ἔχει ἄνδρας μελανοφόρους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος παρθένους
 πάνυ εὐειδεῖς· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἀνθρώπους πτερωτοὺς καὶ
 πυριμόρφους· Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος Γαλακτίων· Ὅντως, κυρία,
 μακάριοι, εἰ γεγόναμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιοῦτοι· Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ
 195 Ἐπιστήμη· Καί εἰσι, κύριε, τοιοῦτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ
 μακάριος Γαλακτίων· Ναί, κυρία μου, εἰσὶν· οὗτοι γάρ, οὓς
 βλέπεις ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῷ ἐν μελανοφοροῦντας, κατέλιπον τὸν

κόσμον καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν συζύγους καὶ
 ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ τοῦ ἑτέρου
 200 χοροστασίου εἰσὶν αἱ ἀφείσασαι τὸν κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 ἑαυτῶν συζύγους καὶ ἀκολουθήσασαι τῷ Χριστῷ. Οἱ δὲ πτερωτοί
 εἰσιν ἄγγελοι, μεθ' ὧν ἀγαλλώμενοι χορεύουσιν. Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ
 μακαρία Ἐπιστήμη· Καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, κύριε, καὶ ἐξ
 ἀλλήλων χωρισθῶμεν, δυνησόμεθα παντοτε ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι μετ'
 205 ἀλλήλων· Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος Γαλακτίων· Δός μοι τῇ ὥρᾳ
 ταύτῃ συνθήκας, κυρία, ὅτι ἀκολουθεῖς μοι, καὶ οὐ χωρισθήσομαί
 σου οὔτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι τούτῳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι,⁶ τοῦ
 κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιούντος τὸ θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων
 αὐτόν. Ἡ δὲ μακαρία Ἐπιστήμη ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου
 210 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι· ἀκολουθήσω σοι, ὅπου ἂν πορεύῃ. Ἡ γὰρ
 θεωρία σου, φησί, παραμυθίαν ἀπαθείας μοι παρέχει. Τότε ὁ
 μακάριος Γαλακτίων ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν· Εὐχαριστήσωμεν, κυρία, τῷ
 θεῷ ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἔκλινε τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
 περισπασμοῦ καὶ περιασμοῦ ἡ συμφωνία ἡμῶν σταθήσεται.
 215 9. Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως λεχθέντων, λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Γαλακτίων τῇ
 μακαρία Ἐπιστήμη· Ἴδου ἐγὼ πορεύομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου· καὶ
 σὺ εὐτρεπίσθητι ἀποβαλομένη πάντα καὶ διαδοῦσα πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἐγὼ
 ἔσομαι τὰ ὅμοια πράττων, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνωθέντες
 πορευσώμεθα ἀμφότεροι, λαβόντες μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν Εὐτόλμιον.
 220 Ἦν γὰρ κατηχήσας καὶ βαπτίσας με ὁ κύριος μου Γαλακτίων καὶ
 βεβαιωσάμενός με, ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ γένωμαι μοναχός· καὶ ὁ μὲν
 κύριός μου Γαλακτίων τῇ ἐπούσῃ νυκτὶ δέδωκεν πάντα τὰ
 ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πτωχοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ κυρία μου Ἐπιστήμη
 ζώνας δύο, ὀρμίσκον ἓνα, ἐνώτια τέσσαρα, ψέλλια περιδέραια καὶ
 225 ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν πάντα αὐτῆς τὸν στολισμὸν διένειμεν πένησιν· καὶ

⁶ cf Mt 12:32

τῇ νυκτὶ ἀπάραντες ἐπορεύθημεν καὶ διὰ δέκα ἡμερῶν
κατηντήσαμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Πούπλιον. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ μοναχοὶ τὸν
ἀριθμὸν δυοκαίδεκα, ἔχοντες ἀπὸ μήκοθεν αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς πάνυ
γραιδας τέσσαρας οὔστινας ἀνιχνεύσαντες εὔρομεν καὶ
230 κρούσαντες καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν ἡμῶν εἰρηκότες αὐτοῖς, ἐδέξαντο
ἡμᾶς οἱ τίμιοι καὶ ἅγιοι ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ
ἀπέκειραν ἡμᾶς, τὴν δὲ κυρίαν μου Ἐπιστήμην ἀπέστειλαν εἰς
τὸ ἀσκητήριον τῶν ἁγίων γυναικῶν. Ἡ δὲ καταδεξαμένη ἀπήει
εὐχαριστοῦσα τῷ θεῷ· ἡμεῖς δὲ κατελείφθημεν εἰς τὸ τῶν
235 μοναχῶν καταγώγιον.

10. Τὰ δὲ τῆς ὑποταγῆς καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τοῦ κυριοῦ μου
Γαλακτίωνος πῶς ἐξείπω· οὐκ αὐταρκεῖ γάρ μου ἡ γλῶσσα ἢ τὰ
χείλη διηγήσασθαι τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς μόχθους οὔπερ
ἐνεδείξατο· ἦσθιεν γὰρ ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ σαββάτου εἰς
240 σαββάτον, ἠγρύπνει δὲ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν εἰδει
νεκροῦ, ἔψαλλέν τε τὰς ἐωθινὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ νυκτερινὰς εὐχὰς
ἀδιαλείπτως, πρώτην, τρίτην, ἕκτην, ἐνάτην καὶ τὰ ἑσπερινὰ
αὐτοῦ· καὶ ποῖος ἂν ἐφίκοιτο λόγος τῶν τούτου ἀρετῶν καὶ
ἀγνωισμάτων, τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ τίς ἐξιχνιάσει, τοὺς μόχθους
245 αὐτοῦ τίς ἐκμετρήσει, τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς αὐτοῦ τίς συγγράψεται·
τοσοῦτον δὲ εἰς ἀγνείας ἤλασεν ἀρετήν, ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν
χαρακτῆρα γυναικὸς τὰ ἐξ ἔτη τῆς ἀσκήσεως αὐτοῦ· πολλάκις
γὰρ οἱ ἅγιοι γέροντες ἐκεῖνοι παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· Ἐλθέ
μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ θέασαι τὴν κυρίαν τὴν διάκονον, ὅτι ἐνενηκοστὸν
250 ἄγει ἔτος ἐν τῷ σχήματι· ὡσαύτως δὲ ὁρᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν
Ἐπιστήμην· καὶ οὐκ ἠνείχετο λέγων ὅτι· ἕως καιροῦ ἀναγκαίου
οὐκ ὄψομαι αὐτήν.

11. Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους διωγμὸς μέγας κατὰ
τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ πάντες ἠναγκάζοντο θύειν τοῖς δαίμοσιν.

255 Ἀπελθὼν δέ τις ἀπήγγειλε τῷ ἄρχοντι Οὔρσω τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν
 Σινᾶ ὄρει καθεζομένων μοναχῶν, ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ
 τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν βλασφημοῦσιν· καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέστειλε φάλαγγα
 στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ὄντας
 μοναχοὺς καὶ ἐνέγκαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ κριτήριον. Τῇ οὖν νυκτὶ
 260 ἐκείνῃ, ἐν ἣ συλληφθῆναι ἔμελλον οἱ ἅγιοι, ὁρᾷ ἡ μακαρία
 Ἐπιστήμη ὄναρ τοιοῦτον. Ἔδοκει γὰρ ἐστάναι ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
 μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Γαλακτίωνος καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 στεφανοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ τῇ ἔωθεν ἀποστείλασα
 προσκαλεῖται τὸν γέροντα, ὃς ἦν ἡγούμενος τοῦ κυρίου μου
 265 Γαλακτίωνος· καὶ ἐλθόντα, διηγεῖται αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅσα κατ' ὄναρ
 ἐθεάσατο, παρακαλοῦσα αὐτὸν δοῦναι αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν λύσιν τῆς
 ὁράσεως. Ὁ δὲ τίμιος καὶ ἅγιος γέρων ἐκεῖνος λέγει αὐτῇ·
 Τέκνον, τὸ παλάτιόν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, οἱ δὲ
 στέφανοι πόνων καὶ ἀγώνων ἀμοιβαί. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς ἐστιν ὁ
 270 Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, δι' ὃν πολλὰ ὑπομενεῖτε σύ τε καὶ ὁ
 κύρις Γαλακτίων βασανιστήρια ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Οὔρσου. Μὴ
 οὖν λειποτακτήσης, τέκνον· πολλὰ γὰρ σε μένουσιν ἀγαθά. Ἡ
 δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ ὀνείρατος δεξαμένη ηὐχαρίστησε τὸν θεὸν
 τὸν δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 275 12. Φθασάντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὄρει, ἔνθα
 ἡσκοῦντο οἱ δύο φωστῆρες οἱ μεγάλοι Γαλακτίων καὶ Ἐπιστήμη,
 εὔρον τὸν κύριόν μου Γαλακτίωνα ἀναγινώσκοντα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
 μεγαλεῖα. Οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔφυγον πάντες.
 Κρατήσαντες δὲ τὸν ὅσιον Γαλακτίωνα μόνον, ἔσυρον ἐπὶ τὸ
 280 κριτήριον. Ὁ δὲ ἠκολούθει ὡς πρόβατων ἐπὶ σφαγὴν.⁷ Ἡ δὲ
 μακαρία Ἐπιστήμη ἐπάνω τοῦ ὄρους ἦν κρυπτομένη μετὰ καὶ
 ἐτέρων παρθένων· καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος αὐτῆς Γαλακτίων

⁷ Is 53:7, cf Ac 8:32

ἀπέρχεται δεδεμένος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ τυφθῆναι, πεσοῦσα
 παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῆς διακόνου, λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Εὗξαι ὑπὲρ
 285 ἐμοῦ, δέσποινά μου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀλγεί μου ἡ καρδία πάνυ, ὅτι τὸν
 κύριόν μου Γαλακτίωνα ἦραν οἱ θεομάχοι πρὸς τὸν παράνομον
 καὶ ἀσεβέστατον ἄρχοντα. Καὶ ἰδοὺ πορεύομαι καὶ γώ, ἵνα σὺν
 αὐτῷ τελειωθῶ. Λέγει αὐτῇ ἡ διάκονος· Μή, τέκνον μου
 Ἐπιστήμη, μὴ ἀπέλθης, μήπως οὐχ ὑπομείνης τὰ βασανιστήρια
 290 καὶ ἀρνήσῃ τὸν Χριστόν, μολύνῃς δὲ καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν σου.
 Λέγει ἡ ἀγία πρὸς τὴν διάκονον· Μὴ γένοιτό μοι μέναι
 ὅπισθεν τοῦ κυρίου μου Γαλακτίωνος ὥραν μίαν· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ
 ἔγνων τὸν Χριστόν, θεὸν ὄντα ἀληθινὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν πάσης
 πνοῆς· δι' αὐτὸν κατέλιπον πάντα, πλοῦτον, γονεῖς, κτήματα, καὶ
 295 πᾶσάν μου τὴν περιουσίαν, πολλὴν οὖσαν σφόδρα, ἵνα μὴ
 χωριστῶ αὐτοῦ μήτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι μήτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.
 Λέγει αὐτῇ ἡ διάκονος· Γένοιτό σοι, τέκνον, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐν πᾶσιν
 εὐλογητή, καὶ τελέσεις τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀθλήσεώς σου ὡς Θέκλα
 ἡ πρωτομάρτυς. Τότε ἀσπασαμένη πάσας τὰς ἀδελφάς, δρομαία
 300 ἔφθασεν ὅπισθεν τοῦ μακαρίου Γαλακτίωνος καὶ φησιν πρὸς
 αὐτόν· Βραβευτὰ τῆς σωτηρίας μου, δι' οὗ θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔγνων
 τὸν Χριστόν, μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με τὴν ταπεινήν, ἀλλ' αἵτησαι τὸν
 Κύριον, ἵνα σὺν σοι τελειωθῶ, καὶ ἀχώριστοι ἐσόμεθα ὡς ἐν τῷ
 νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

305 13. Στραφέντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ θεασάμενοι αὐτήν, ἔδησαν
 καὶ αὐτήν σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ. Περιπατούντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐδίδασκεν
 αὐτήν ὁ ἅγιος Γαλακτίων λέγων· Κυρία μου καὶ ἀδελφή, μὴ
 φοβηθῇς τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ τυράννου· ἀλλὰ
 μικρὸν ὑπομείνωμεν, ἵνα στεφανωθῶμεν εἰς ὅλους αἰῶνας. Βλέπε,
 310 κυρία, μή σε ἀπατησωσιν ἓν τι τῶν ἡδέων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου·
 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα πρόσκαιρα καὶ φθαρτά εἰσιν καὶ παρέρχονται

δίκην ὀνείρου. Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ μακαρία Ἐπιστήμη· Κύριε, κατ' ἵχνος σου πορεύσομαι· καὶ εἴ τι ὁρῶ σε πράττοντα, ποιήσω καὶ γώ.

315 Φθασάντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος προαύλια, ἦλθέ τις τῶν ὑπερετῶν λέγων· Τηρηθήτωσαν εἰς τὴν αὔριον· τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον προκαθίσας ὁ ἀσεβέστατος καὶ παράνομος Οὔρσος ἐκέλευσεν εἰσαχθῆναι τοὺς ἁγίους Γαλακτίωνα καὶ Ἐπιστήμην. Ὡς δὲ εἰσήχθησαν, λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄρχων· Τίς ὑπάρχει ὁ
320 μελανοφόρος οὗτος καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὁμοία αὐτῷ· Λέγει ὁ ἅγιος· Μοναχοί ἐσμεν καὶ χριστιανοί. Ὁ ἄρχων λέγει· Καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός· Ὁ ἅγιος λέγει· Ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Ὁ ἄρχων λέγει· Καὶ οἱ θεοὶ τίνες εἰσὶν· Ὁ ἅγιος λέγει· Λίθοι καὶ ὕλη φθαρτή. Τότε χολέσας σφόδρα ὁ
325 ἄρχων λέγει· Ἐκδύσατε τοῦτον τὸν βλάσφημον καὶ σφοδρῶς βουνευριζέσθω. Τυπτομένου δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἔκλαιεν μακαρία Ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ὡς ἀσπλαγχνία τυράννου, ὦ ἀπανθρωπία ἄρχοντος· ἄθλιε, πῶς οὐκ ἔλεεις τοιαῦτα ὥραϊα μέλη καταναλίσκων ταῖς μᾶστιζι, φεῖσαι τοῦ νέου, ὦ μιὰ καὶ
330 ἀκάθαρτε.

14. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰποῦσα ἡ ἁγία, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ ἄρχων σφόδρα ἔφη· Γυμνώσατε τὴν μαίναδα ταύτην· ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀναιδεΐας μεμεστωμένην ὑπάρχουσαν. Γυμνωθείσης δὲ αὐτῆς μέχρις ὀθόνης, λέγει τῷ τυράννῳ· Ἐπικατάρατε καὶ
335 τρισάθλιε, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μου βαπτίσματι, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀγνεΐᾳ μοι συνέζευξεν ἄνδρα, τὴν γύμνωσίν μου οὐ τεθέαται καὶ σὺ ἐπιτρέπεις γυμνὴν με παραστῆναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τυφλωθήτωσαν ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, ἵνα μηδ' ὅλως ἴδητε μου τὴν γύμνωσιν. Καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἁγίας ἐτυφλώθη ὁ ἄρχων
340 εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες. Τότε ἔκραξαν λέγοντες· Σῶσον

ἡμᾶς, ἁγία δούλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους τούτου καὶ
 πιστεύσομεν τῷ θεῷ σου. Ἡ δὲ ἁγία σπλαγχνισθεῖσα ἐπ’
 αὐτοῖς, ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἀνέβλεψαν παραχρῆμα
 πάντες καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
 345 ψυχὰι πεντηκοντατρεῖς. Ὁ δὲ ἀκάθαρτος καὶ πονηρὸς ἄρχων
 πάλιν μανεῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἔφη· Αὕτη ἡ τύφλωσις ἐκ τῶν
 μεγίστων θεῶν ἡμῖν ἐδόθη, ὥς καταδεξαμένων ἡμῶν ὑβρισθῆναι
 αὐτούς· ἀλλ’ ὀξύνετε καλάμους καὶ ἐμβάλετε εἰς τοὺς ὄνυχας
 αὐτῶν. Ποιησάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τὸ κελευσθὲν αὐτοῖς,
 350 ἔκαμνον οἱ ἅγιοι σφοδρῶς καὶ ἐβόων λέγοντες· Γνώθι, ὦ
 τύραννε, ὅτι Χριστῷ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λατρεύομεν, τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς
 σου καταπατοῦμεν

15. Ὁ ἄρχων λέγει τοῖς ὑπηρέταις· Κόψατε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν,
 ἵνα μὴ βλασφημῶσιν. Κοπτομένων δὲ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, ἐβόων
 355 οἱ ἅγιοι· Ἀνάστα, Κύριε, βοήθησον ἡμῖν, ὅτι τῷ σῷ πόθῳ
 τρωθέντες ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι. Ὁ δὲ κάκιστος καὶ δεινὸς ἄρχων
 πάλιν διετάξατο κοπῆναι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πόδας. Κοπτομένων δὲ
 τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν, ἐβόων οἱ ἅγιοι· Ἀναθέμα τοῖς θεοῖς σου,
 τύραννε, εὐλογητὸς δὲ ὑπάρχει ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 360 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Τότε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν κατ’ αὐτῶν τὴν
 ἀπόφασιν τοῦ ἀποτμηθῆναι αὐτούς. Ἄραντες δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους
 μάρτυρας Γαλακτίωνα καὶ Ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες αὐτοὺς
 ἔξω τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἀπεκεφάλισαν αὐτοὺς μηνί
 νοεμβρίῳ πέμπτῃ, ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Εὐτολμίου ὀρῶντος. Εἴασαν
 365 δὲ τὰ τίμια καὶ ἅγια αὐτῶν λείψανα ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ. Καὶ
 λαβὼν αὐτὰ ἐγὼ καὶ πολλὰ δακρύσας ἐκήδευσα εἰς δόξαν τοῦ
 μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ
 τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,⁸ ἀμήν.

⁸ Rev 5:13

3.2 *THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF THE VERY HOLY MARTYRS, SAINTS GALAKTION AND EPISTEME.*

1. Listen, today, beloved, to a strange and wondrous narrative by me, that is useful for your souls. For it is very beneficial for someone if they should become not only one who hears but one who acts¹, as the apostle Paul preached admonishing, "for it is not those who listen to the law who will be considered just by God, but those who act according to the law who will be deemed right".² And if someone were to display hidden treasure to you, you cannot be enriched by this sign, unless you obtain this fruit by digging with much toil and labour. On the contrary, for the sake of this, in order that you should not receive in a superficial way the way of life and testimony which I intend to narrate but by narrating it accurately and writing it with true desire in your souls, I advise you, dearly beloved brothers, that you will hasten with zeal for this, to act and not simply to hear.³ For I, the unworthy and the least, Eutolmios, who puts this soul-edifying narrative before you, although an eyewitness and servant of the struggles and contests of my masters, did not imitate their angelic and incorporeal life, having lived subject to passions and desiring the flesh over the spirit. But may you not become eager to imitate a neglectful and lazy heart. For speaking thus is not irksome to me and is safe for you.⁴ For I do not hide the talent with which I was deemed worthy, unworthily, to have been entrusted by the Lord as greater protection against my unprofitableness and idleness, but I place it before you punctiliously, making you debtors to God who said to the most evil servant, like me. "Why didn't you entrust my talent to the bankers? At my coming, I would have collected it with interest".⁵ Therefore I beg you, beloved, do not look at the coarseness and shabbiness of my language. For I am

¹Jacob 1: 22

²Romans 2: 13

³Jacob 1: 22

⁴Philippians 3. 1

⁵Luke 19: 23

unlearned and shall probably not have the capacity to convey easily the story to you as an experiment. But I know that you will not look at the impreciseness of the language and reject the story but trusting the humble expression of my faith, will listen to the life and martyrdom which will be narrated by me.

2 There was a certain man in the city of Emesa, of noble birth and of high repute such as no other man who lived in the city enjoyed. He abounded in great wealth, was famous in the neighbouring cities and countryside, and he was called Kleitophon. He possessed a very beautiful wife, the daughter of the toparch Memnon, and she was called Gleukippe. But she was barren and could not bear children and so because of this she endured much grief and pain. For she was blamed by her own husband everyday.

It happened that a certain man called Secundos, was governor in those days and he was severe and very cruel and opposed to the flock of Christ. He plundered the Christians so much, filling the streets already with tortures and all possible instruments of punishment, so that when any Christians were found, they were immediately killed horribly, from sight alone and without question. Now each one of the pious busied himself for his own safety. Some overcome by fear fled, others surrendered themselves and others, afraid, hid. One of these was a certain monk called Onuphrios who did not cast away his habit but wore it within himself (inside), and on the outside wore ancient, white and much patched clothes. And he went around from place to place and from house to house, in the guise of a beggar asking for alms for the poor. Living in this way, he came one day to my master's house. My mistress had been beaten violently that day by her husband. For her husband was disposed to be very hostile to her on account of her sterility. And so the monk approached the door and asked for charity.

3 As she was angry, the woman sent one of her maidservants to shut the door in his face. But the monk was patient for a while, as habitual for beggars and then asked again for alms and moved the soul of my mistress to pity. And she sent (a maidservant) and brought the old man into the house. However she did not know that he was a Christian and a monk in disguise. For she and her husband were idolaters. They had an exceptionally strong belief in the idol of

Artemis. When the monk entered and was accepting the supplies he had requested, my mistress Gleukippe groaned deeply from the depths of her heart. And the monk said to her, "why are you in such a state of pain and crying so bitterly, my mistress? I see that inside, you possess inconsolable trouble." And she answered him as if divinely moved, "I am childless and barren and one time I am slapped by my husband and at other times, I am scorned and persecuted in small ways. And I have exhausted my life with doctors and medicine because of this childlessness of mine but nothing helps. I am punishing my soul beyond endurance and I am living painfully." And the old man said to her, "Which god do you worship?" And she said, "The most great goddess Artemis". Then the old man said confidently, "Rightly you do not have a child. For you have not believed in God Who has the power to give you fruit of your womb".⁶

4 And so she said to him, "Well then, what sort of god should I worship so he will give me this joy?" And the old man said, "Christ the true God and His Father and the Holy Spirit Who is glorified together with Them." And she said to the old man, "You don't mean the God whom the Galilaeans worship?" And the old man said to her, "Yes, this very one I proclaim to you, Who stretched out the sky and laid foundations for the earth, and Who made man and Who created every breath." And Gleukippe said to the old man, "Man, I am terrified of the ruler Secundos, in case he finds out and together with my childlessness, deprive me also of life. For I cannot endure torture." And the old man said to her, "Take the seal in Christ through holy baptism and worship the holy Trinity secretly, fulfilling the commands which I will give to you." And Gleukippe said to him, "Father, if I believe but my husband remains a non-believer, will my faith remain unsuccessful because my husband is a non-believer?" And again the old man said to her, "No, woman. Such people are able to confess the apostolic tradition in their own mind. If you obey me, you will save both yourself and your husband. For you see how I altered my habit through fear of the governor and seem worldly and poor to everyone, while I am a monk and a priest". With these and

⁶Psalms 131. 11

many other words the old man strengthened the woman and he moved her towards zeal worthy of God. And the woman said to him, "Father, are you able to give me baptism in secret?" And he said to her, "Yes, if there is water, behold the hour." Then she ordered her maidservants to fill one of the jars and the monk baptised her secretly according to the custom of the Christians in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

5 Having been taught the mysteries of the Christians by him and having received from him certain other commands, (then) giving him abundantly those things for his provisions, Gleukippe sent him on his way, entreating him not to forget her but to visit her very often. So after this happened Gleukippe pretended to be ill for eight days saying to herself, "Let me not stain my consecration by sleeping with my husband and behave as if despising the gift of the Holy Spirit." At the end of the eight days, the woman conceived. When her pregnancy began to show, her husband was greatly overjoyed and said to her, "Now I have realised, my lady, that you have been well-pleasing to the gods and they have graced you with fruit of the womb. Therefore let us go and sacrifice to them." And she sighing deeply said to Kleitophon, "O dearest husband, a god appeared to me in a dream before my pregnancy and His palms were stretched out on wood. It is He Who gave me this grace. Therefore if you wish, my master, let us sacrifice, rather, to Him." And her husband said to her, "Woman, this god Whom you have gazed at in a dream is God of the Galilaeans. I have heard about Him from many people and it seems that He can perform marvellous wonders." His wife said to him, "Lord, why don't we believe in Him, if He is so strong, He who loosened the fetters of my sterility?" And her husband replied, "Do you not hear the anger of the governor? He who does not cease to kill such people (Christians)?" And again she said to him, "But we shall be hidden, revering Him and in public as much as is possible, we shall arrange for our lives." And he said, "But who will teach us and initiate us into the mysteries?" Then Gleukippe, seeing that her husband was persuaded to the faith of Christ, falls at his feet and tells him in detail everything that had happened to her, and that she had become a Christian. And she showed him the revered and

very pious monk and so he (Kleitophon) was instructed and baptised by him (the monk) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

6 After this, when the time came for the bearing of her child, the woman gave birth to a boy. And doing everything customary the monk baptised him in the name of the Life-Originating Trinity and named him Galaktion and prophesied these things about him, saying, "This child will possess in heaven his way of life. He will scorn earthly ways, not sparing himself." When the child reached manhood his parents handed him over to learn the holy scriptures. And the revered and holy child became so well-educated that he easily got through all his elementary studies and learnt all his grammar as well as Homeric skill, rhetoric and philosophy. He mastered astronomy so successfully that the movement of the heavenly bodies was not unknown to him.

When he was twenty-five, his father wanted to give him a wife as his revered mother Gleukippe had died. So he found a girl who was very beautiful, the daughter of one of the high officials, called Episteme, and he (Galaktion) betrothed her and after the betrothal was performed, the blessed Galaktion departed for his betrothed, as is customary for young men. However, he did not yet embrace her because she had not been baptised.

7 So Episteme spoke to her father. And her father said to his son-in-law, "Say, young man, why do you not kiss your betrothed, as is customary for young men?" Galaktion pretended to be shy and said to Episteme with nobody in sight or within earshot, "Do you know lady, why I am not kissing you?" And she said to him, "No, my Lord and I am very grieved about this." The blessed Galaktion said to her, "Because you are not a Christian, but if you were to receive holy baptism, then I will kiss you and I will call you wife." And she said to him, "When you wish it, my lord, I will be baptised. May I only meet your desire." The blessed Galaktion said to her, "the priesthood has disappeared from the Christian people. Therefore tomorrow, pretend to wash in the garden with the linen and I myself will arrive inconspicuously and I will baptise you." When she had done what had been arranged for her, the blessed Galaktion baptised

her in one of the waterbasins in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

8 When she was washing on the eighth day, saint Episteme said to the blessed Galaktion, "Do you know, my lord, what I see in my dreams since I received holy baptism?" He said to her, "Tell (me), my lady, what do you see?" She said to him, "I see a palace adorned very beautifully and in it, three choruses singing. One of the choruses has men clad in black and the other has very beautiful virgins. And the third has winged and fiery-formed humans." The blessed Galaktion said to her, "Truly lady, we are blessed if we too become such." Episteme said to him, "And are such people in the world?" And the blessed Galaktion said to her, "Yes my lady, they are. For these people whom you saw in the one chorus clad in black, they left the worldly life and their wealth and their wives and followed Christ. The women, those of the other chorus, are those who left the world behind and in addition, their husbands, and followed Christ. The winged ones are angels with whom, rejoicing, they dance." The blessed Episteme said to him, "If we do this lord, and we separate from one another, will we always be able to rejoice with each other?" The blessed Galaktion said to her, "Give me this hour your promise, lady, that you follow me, and I will not be separated from you in this world or the next, my Lord Jesus Christ fulfilling 'the will of those who fear Him'.⁷ And the blessed Episteme swore to him by the Lord Jesus Christ that, 'I will follow you wherever you go. For the sight of you', she says, 'offers me consolation for apatheia.' Then the blessed Galaktion said to her, "Let us give thanks, lady, to our God, that He deigned to listen to us,⁸ and our agreement will withstand a day of temptation and distraction."

9 After these things had been said, saint Galaktion said to the blessed Episteme, "Look, I am going to my house. And you, prepare, rejecting everything and hand it over to the poor. And I will do the same and on the third day, we will meet and set out together, taking Eutolmios with us as well." For my lord Galaktion, had instructed and baptised me, and confirmed me so that I

⁷Psalms 144. 19

⁸Psalms 30. 2; 44. 10; 70. 2; 85. 1; 114. 2

would become a monk with him. And on the next night my lord Galaktion gave all his possessions to the poor and in the same way my lady Episteme distributed two belts, one necklace, four pairs of earrings, armlets, necklaces and, in short, all her adornments to the poor.

Having set off that night we travelled and reached Mount Pouplion after ten days. There were twelve monks there who had nuns with them, four very old sisters, far away. After searching, we found them, we knocked <at the door> and told them our aim. The revered and saintly men received us with joy and tonsured us and they sent my mistress Episteme to the retreat of the saintly women. And she was received and went away giving thanks to God. We were left behind at the refuge of the monks.

10 How will I give the account of the submission and asceticism of my lord Galaktion? For my tongue and lips are not sufficient to narrate the toils and hardships which he took upon himself. For two years he ate from Sabbath to Sabbath and he kept vigil for so long that to see him, he appeared corpse-like. He sang both his morning and evening prayers without wavering at the first, third, sixth and ninth hours and his evening ones. And what sort of speech could describe his virtues and his contests, who will detail out his labours, who will measure his toils, who will write down his lamentations? He drove virtue to such a degree of chastity, that he did not see the face of a woman during the six years of his asceticism. For often those saintly old men called him saying, "come with us and see our lady, the deaconess, who is spending her ninetieth year. And at the same time you can also see sister Episteme." But he could not endure this saying, "Until it is the necessary time, I will not see her."

11 It came to pass in those times that there was a severe persecution against the Christians and everyone was forced to sacrifice to the gods. Someone came and reported to the ruler Oursos about the monks sitting on Mount Sinai, that 'they confess Christ and slander our gods.' Therefore he immediately sent a phalanx of soldiers to seize all the monks there and to bring them to the tribunal. That night in which the saints were about to be arrested, the blessed Episteme sees such a dream. She seemed to be standing in the palace with her husband

Galaktion and was crowned with him by the King. At earliest dawn, she sent someone to call the old man, he who was the hegoumenos of my lord Galaktion. And he came and she told him all that she had seen in the dream, begging him to interpret the dream for her. That revered and saintly old man said to her, "child, the palace is the kingdom of Heaven. The crowns are recompense for your toils and contests. And the king is Christ, the son of God, for the sake of Whom both you and lord Galaktion will undergo many tortures from the governor Oursos. Do not desert, child, for much good awaits you." And she, receiving the interpretation of the dream, gave thanks to God, the dispenser of Good.

12 When the soldiers arrived on that mountain, where the two illuminators, the great Galaktion and Episteme were following the ascetic rule, they found my lord Galaktion reading the gospels <works of God>. For the rest of the monks had fled. Arresting only the very holy Galaktion, they dragged him to the tribunal. And he followed like a lamb to the slaughter.⁹ The blessed Episteme was hiding on top of the mountain with the other virgins. When she heard that her lord Galaktion was being taken, bound, to the governor to be beaten, she fell at the feet of the deaconess, saying to her, "Pray for me, my mistress. For look, my heart is greatly pained because the god-warring men have taken my lord Galaktion to the cruel and sacrilegious governor. And look, I am setting forth so that I may die with him." The deaconess said to her, "Don't, my child Episteme, don't go, lest you cannot bear the tortures and deny Christ and defile your virginity." The saint said to the deaconess, "May I not stay <live> one hour behind my lord Galaktion. For through him I came to know Christ as true God and Creator of all living beings. Because of him I abandoned everything, wealth, parents, property and all my wealth - which was very great - so that I would not be separated from him in the present age of the future one." The deaconess said to her, "May your road, child, be blessed in everything and you will complete the course of your trials just like Thekla, the protomartyr." Then embracing all the sisters, running, <Episteme> came up behind blessed Galaktion and said to

⁹cf. Romans 8. 36

him, "Awarder of my salvation, on account of whom I came to know Christ as true God, do not forsake me, the humble one, but ask the Lord that I may die with you and we will not be parted in the present age or the future one."

13 When the soldiers turned and saw her, they bound her too with the saint. As they were walking, saint Galaktion instructed her, saying, "My lady and sister, do not fear the punishments and threats of the tyrant. But let us endure a little so that we may be crowned for all ages.¹⁰ Look, lady, lest they deceive you with any of the sweet things of this world. For all these things are ephemeral and corruptible and pass like a dream." The blessed Episteme said to him, "Lord, I will travel in your footsteps and if I see you doing something, I will do it too." And so they arrived at the vestibule of the governor and one of the servants came saying, "Let them be watched till tomorrow." The following day, the sacrilegious and cruel Oursos took the chair and ordered saints Galaktion and Episteme to be brought in. When they were brought in, the governor said to them, "Who is this man clad in black and who is the woman who is like him?" The saint <Galaktion> said, "We are monks and Christians." The governor said, "And who is Christ?" The saint said, "He who made the sky and the earth and the sea." The governor said, "And the gods, who are they?" The saint said, "Stones and corruptible material." Then the governor became very angry and said, "Strip this blasphemer and whip him greatly." As the saint was being beaten thoroughly, the blessed Episteme cried out and said, "O merciless tyrant, O heartless governor. Wretch, how can you not pity such beautiful limbs which you consume by scourges. Spare the young man, O brutal and foul one."

14 When saint Episteme said these things, the governor was very angry and said, "Strip this maenad. For I see that her conduct is full of shamelessness." Having been stripped down to a linen cloth, she said to the tyrant, "yet more accursed (man) and thrice-wretched one, he whom God joined to me as husband in chastity did not see my nakedness in my holy baptism and you order that I should appear before you and all the people, naked; may your eyes become

¹⁰cf. Rev 2. 10

blind so that you may never see my nakedness.” And with this speech of the saint, the governor and all those with him immediately became blind. Then they shouted saying, “Save us, holy servant of Christ, from this darkness and we will believe in your God.” And the saint had pity on them and entreated God and everyone immediately regained their sight and fifty-three souls believed in our Lord, Jesus Christ. And the foul and evil governor again raged against them saying, “this blinding has been brought down on us from the great gods because we allowed them to act insultingly. But sharpen reeds and push them into their nails.” When the servants had done what he ordered, the saints suffered and shouted, “Know, O tyrant, that we worship Christ the Son of God and we trample on your gods.”

15 The governor said to the servants, “Cut off their hands, so that they do not blaspheme.” When their hands had been cut off, the saints shouted, “Arise, Lord, help us because wounded by desire for You, we have followed You.” The evil and terrible governor again ordered their feet to be cut off as well. When their feet had been cut off, the saints shouted, “Anathema to your gods, tyrant. Our Lord, Jesus Christ is blessed forever.” Then the governor gave the sentence to behead them. They lifted the saintly martyrs and took them outside the vestibule of the governor and beheaded them on the 5th of November, witnessed by me, the humble Eutolmios. They left their revered and saintly remains in that place. And I, taking them with many tears, buried them to the glory of the great God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ, in Whom is the glory and the strength, forever and ever, Amen.

3.3 *NOTES ON THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF SAINTS GALAKTION AND EPISTEME*

CHAPTER 1

3 διήγησιν on the importance of this term in Christian literature, see C. Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: the Use of 'diegesis'", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (3) (1998), 431-448.

17 Εὐτόλμιος No other personal details given other than he is a servant of Galaktion's family (l. 57; 64; 69; 204-206). Other eyewitnesses to martyrdoms include Alexius for Florus and Laurus: AB 51 (1933) and AASS Aug. 3: 521; Anthimus for Philetaerus and Eubiotus: AASS. Maii IV (1685), 312-328 and Florentius for Cassiodorus and his companions: AB 16 (1897), 301⁵ and AB 23 (1904), 36.²⁶ Delehaye discusses the rôle of the eyewitness with further examples [H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1966), 182-183. Kleinberg explains how the eyewitness' account is as much a personal revelation as a straightforward narrative, using Peter of Dacia's tale of St. Christina of Stommeln [A. M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1993), 55ff.

29-30 σὺν τόκῳ Lk: 19:23. Sophokles: 'Interest', Bas. *hom in Ps 14*.

CHAPTER 2

37 Ἑμέση City of the province of Phoenicia Libanensis at the crossing of routes from Palymra to the sea and from Damascus to the north. It is located near the Orontes [R. Garrett, *Part I of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1899-1900: Topography and Itinerary* (The Century Co., New York, 1914), 47] and is the 'Hemesa' of Pliny. Thought to be the kingdom of Suba (Σουβὰ) in the Bible: II Samuel 8. 3. 6 & 10. 6. Emesa was considered to be the

equal of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. In 194 AD Alexander Severus divided Syria into Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice for administrative purposes. Emesa was located in Syria Phoenice. Caracalla (211-217) then granted Emesa colonial status and other special privileges, thus creating Roman citizens [A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1983), nt. 53]. The *Digest*, L. XV. 1 § 1 states, “one must realise that there are some colonies with *ius italicum* as in Syria Phoenice, the most splendid colony of the Tyrians...our emperor granted it *ius italicum* because of its great and conspicuous faithfulness toward the Roman state and empire...”. See also L. XV. 1 § 4 and L. XV. 8 § 6 for specific mention of Emesa in connection with *ius italicum*. In terms of Christian importance, John the Baptist's head was found at Emesa (BHG 839; BHL 4291-4292).

40 Κλειτοφῶν lit. 'renowned refrain'. Famous protagonist of Achilles Tatios' novel *The Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon*. See Chapter One, 22ff. Delehayé noted that *Galaktion and Episteme* has much in common with other romances represented in the *Acts of the Martyrs*: Adrian and Natalie (BHG 27-29) and Cecilia (BHL 1495-1498). He considered *Galaktion and Episteme* to be of “particular interest as the relationship which binds it to the Greek novel is by no means concealed” [Delehayé (1966), 229]. The *Greek Anthology* IX 203 (the epigram is attributed to either Photios or Leo the Philosopher) gives some indication of ancient ideas about the novel, “the story of Kleitophon almost brings before our eyes a bitter passion but a moral life, and the most chaste conduct of Leukippe astonished everyone. Beaten, her head shorn, vilely used and above all, thrice done to death, she still bore all... first learn the conclusion of the discourse: for it joins in wedlock lovers who loved wisely”. Much later, ideas had changed as Photios in his *Bibliotheca* cod. 87 wrote, “but the great indecency and impurity of the ideas tarnishes the intention and efforts of the author throughout. This leads the intending reader to reject and abhor the text”. In cod. 94 (under Iamblichus) he wrote, “read a novel by Iamblichus, a love story. There is less parody (ἐμπομπεύων) of indecency than in Achilles Tatius but more display of immodesty than in the Phoenician Heliodoros. These three authors set out with virtually identical aim in writing a novel with a love interest, but Heliodoros

is more serious and restrained, Iamblichus less so and Achilles Tatius is indecent and shameless". See Chapter One, 22-29, for a fuller discussion on the connection between the *Life* and the pagan novels.

41 Μέμνωνος - not found in A. H. M. Jones, *The Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992), 3 vols, or *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Saec, I, II, III, ed., G. Reimerum (Berlin, 1897-1898). The only Memnon (Memnonius 1) who is noted as a governor of Syria (or possibly a *comes orientis* or *consularis Syriae*) is recorded in *PLRE* but he was sent to Antioch and moreover is an Orthodox (anti-Nestorian) Christian.

τοῦ τοπάρχου a toparch, noted by Sophokles as the "governor of a country". Extant evidence comes from Egypt. For details of a toparch's duties, see J. Lallemand, "Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Diocletien à la création du diocèse (284-382). Contribution à la fin du IIIe et au IVe siècle", *Académie royale de Belgique mémoires (lettres)* 57 (2) (1964), 4-342 and N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, *Papyrologica Florentina*, ed., R. Pintaudi, Vol XI (Edizioni Gonnelli, Florence, 1982). Lewis notes the earliest evidence of compulsory service is dated to AD 265 (P. Flor. 2 - from Hermopolis Magna) and the latest date attested for the post is Ptolemaic: AD 307 (SB 5679) [*idem* 49]. The qualifications for the liturgy/ magistracy are: Poros = 2000 dr; Age = 45. The area of responsibility is a toparchy and the term of service is one year. The *ODB* notes that the use of the office is a general one but is elevated to that of king in Malalas 231.9. He refers to a *toparches* of the Jews. By the eleventh century the office is not itemised in the lists of *taktika* nor included amongst the collections of seals that are the main sources for this period [J.-C. Cheynet, "Toparque et topotèrètès a la fin du IIe siècle", *REB* 42 (1984), 215-228, esp. 215].

Γλευκίππην from Γλεῦκος, metaphorically meaning 'inspiration from the Holy Spirit' (Gr. Ny. *De Spiritu Sancto* - PG 46. 701A το γλεῦκος τοῦτο) See Chapter One, 22ff for a comparison with Leukippe, the heroine of Achilles Tatios' novel.

41-42 ἦν δὲ στεῖρα καὶ οὐκ ἔτικτεν The initial inability of the mother of a future saint or holy person to bear children established an early and secure spiritual start in life for the child. Its antecedents lay in the Bible where sterility was legendary. Sarah and Elizabeth are just two examples of infertile women who bear children after divine intervention.

43 ὠνειδίζετο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρός cf. the *Life* of St. Daniel the Stylite whose mother was barren “and was reproached for this by her husband (and kinsfolk)” [*Three Byzantine Saints*, tr., E. Dawes and N. Baynes (Blackwell, Oxford, 1948), 8]. Weinstein and Bell point out that the blame is usually apportioned to the wife, “To the neighbours her barrenness appeared to be due to some hidden sin or at least a lack of religious fervour” [D. Weinstein and R. Bell in *Saints and Society: the Two worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1982), 23].

44 ἡγεμονεύειν The prefect was the official known as the ἡγεμῶν or ἡγοῦμενος. ἄρχων was a general term which frequently designated governors from the fifth century onwards in the papyri. The office was already being employed by the middle of the fourth century (P. Lips. 33). See Lallemand (1964), 60 and Jouguet (1911), 292-314 for the duties and ranking of an ἄρχη. Also cited in Kriaras, attesting usage in the Late Byzantine period.

Σεκοῦνδον Cannot be traced in *PLRE* or *PIR*.

51-52 οἱ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ...ἐκρύπτοντο cf. Eusebius, *HE* 8. 3, “many rulers of the church bore up heroically under horrible torments...while countless others, their souls already numbed with cowardice, promptly succumbed to the first onslaught. Of the rest...tortures”.

53 Ὀνούφριος The *Life* of St Onophrios is present in *PG* 73 211-222, 390 and in *AASS* June 3: 24-30. See also F. Halkin, “La vie de saint Onuphre par Nicolas le Sinaïte”, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 24 (1987), 7-27. The *Life* is dated to c. 400 (*ODB* III, 1527). However there is no certainty that it is the same monk in *Galaktion and Episteme*. Eckenstein quotes Nectarius' epitome of *Holy History* (1805), 75 where Nectarius claims that Onouphrios was an early hermit of Sinai [L. Eckenstein, *A History of Sinai*, Society for the Promoting of Christian

Knowledge (The Macmillan Co., London & New York, 1921), 95]. The monk's retreat was still being pointed out to travellers in Baedeker: *Lower Egypt* (1895), 270.

55 πολύρραφα much sewn, much patched; Pall. *HL* 13. 6. *Apoth. Pat.* (PG. 65. 225B).

CHAPTER 3

69-70 πεποίθησιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ τῆς
'Αρτέμιδος εἶδωλον Artemis was worshipped as a helper for women in childbirth and as a fertility goddess: Acts 19: 24; 27: 34 (τὸ τῆς μεγάλης 'Αρτέμιδος). As in the text, Artemis is referred to as 'the great' in the literature. (Xenophon, *Eph.* 1. 11. 5 τὴν μεγάλην 'Εφεσίων 'Αρτεμιν) and in, for example, an inscription from the aqueduct of Ephesus (CIG 2963c - τῆς μεγάλης Θεάς 'Αρτέμιδος).

CHAPTER 4

91 θεμελιώσαντα τὴν γῆν θεμελιώω: Bauer: Job 38: 4 - θεμελιούν; Pr 3: 19 - ὁ Θεὸς τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν γῆν, ἡτοίμασε δὲ οὐρανοὺς φρονήσει. This is the profession of faith.

96-97 Σὺ λάβε τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος The "seal" was one of the earliest and commonest Christian ways of referring to baptism. Although the term denoted a mark of ownership and protection (as sheep of the flock, for example), it pointed to another mark, that of circumcision, which was also called the "seal", that is the mark of God's covenant with Abraham. The *Didascalia Apostolorum* (whose author was an anonymous Syrian bishop) indicates that the term grew from the original prebaptismal practice of having the sign of the cross traced on the candidate's forehead, very often with oil. The anointing marked the baptized out as a member of God's new "peoples", just as circumcision had once marked out the member of the "people" (of Israel). Paul, in the letter to the Colossians (2: 11), calls baptism a "circumcision made without hands" (περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ). By

the time of the *Didascalia* the prebaptismal anointing is extended to the whole body.

97 κρυπτῶς cf. l. 50-52 and later in l. 114; 117-119; 146. There is pronounced emphasis on secrecy. Secret Christians are condoned in this text in direct contrast to those disparaged in the *Martyrdom of Pionius* (Robert, 1994), 2: 4; 4: 1. Jesus said to his disciples, "when they persecute you in one town, flee to the next" (Mt 10: 23), cf. Origen in homily 9 of the *Homilies on Judges* (1993).

99-101 Εἰ ἐγώ, πάτερ, πιστεύσω...διαμείνη ἡ πίστις μου; cf. 1 Cor. 14: 'for the unbelieving husband is consecrated through his wife and the unbelieving wife is consecrated through her husband'. Also 1 Cor. 7:16. See *Life of Melania* [*The Life of Melania the Younger*, tr., E. Clark (Edwin Mellen, Lewiston, 1984)], ch. 5, p. 29.

102 παράδοσιν of Christian teaching, "I command you because you remember me in everything and maintain the traditions even as I have delivered them to you" (1 Cor 11: 2). Sophokles: teaching/ instruction - Paul *Thess* 2.2.15.

103 τῷ ἰδίῳ νοῖ Bowersock mentions τῷ νοῖ (her own ideas) with reference to Perpetua (Mart. Perpet. 2. 3 cf. 14. 1) [G. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge University Press, Belfast, 1995), 33].

CHAPTER 5

115 τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Χριστιανῶν Bauer: μυστήρια is found only once in the gospels (Mk 4: 11), where the disciples ask for an explanation of the parables. Jesus replies, "ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ". Μυστήρια occurs twenty-one times in the Pauline literature as a secret or a mystery too profound for human comprehension. The plural form is used to denote Christian teaching, as in this case, by the apostles and teachers cf. 1 Cor 4: 1 οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων Θεοῦ. Not all Christians are capable of understanding all the mysteries (see 1 Cor 14: 2 for reference to speaking in tongues), therefore the possession of *all* mysteries is a great joy (1 Cor 13: 2). Also attested by Kriaras, s.v. τὸ μυστήριον. The Greek Church now recognises seven mysteries: βάπτισμα, χρίσμα, εὐχαριστία, ἱερωσύνη, μετάνοια, γάμος, εὐχέλαιον.

121 συγκαθεύδειν only in LSJ: ἡ συγκαθεύδησις, sexual intercourse. Aeschylus, *Choephoroi* 906 (ξυγκαθεύδουσ'); Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 1009; Plato, *Laws* 838b.

123 συνέλαβεν Lk 1: 24 (Elizabeth) ἐν γαστρί Hippocr. Aph. 5. 46 ed. Littré IV, p. 548 (μὴ ξυλλαμβάνουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ), cf. Gen 25: 21-2 (Rebecca). The use of this term, associated with these women who were also previously sterile, highlights Gleukippe's condition.

136 στειρώσεως Bauer: Lk 1: 7 (Elizabeth); Hb 11: 11 (Sarah).

CHAPTER 6

154 ἀνδρυνθέντος Only one mention in Greek literature: in the *Historia Alexandri Magni* Recensio G, 13.1, an historical romance/ epic. The word is used in the same context when describing Alexander. Lampe: in pass: grow to manhood.

156-160 ὥστε εὐχερῶς διελθεῖν τὴν προπαίδειαν...μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτόν τὰ γράμματα or τὰ ἱερά γράμματα indicate more formal schooling. The phrases can cover a range of educational situations. It is probable that the texts on which the reading and writing were based were selections from Scripture and the lives of martyrs and saints. In the *Life* of Nicolas the Studite, προπαιδεία indicates further study which Galaktion seems to have undertaken, given the range of his subjects. φιλοσοφικήν could mean theology [R. Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World", *BMGS* 4 (1978), 39-54].

CHAPTER 7

172 προφασισάμενος Bauer: pretending, for appearance's sake. Mk 12: 40; Lk 20: 47 (προφάσει) - a display of piety to secure confidence in someone.

179 Ἡ ἱερωσύνη Found only twice in the nominative singular in Theodoretus' *Interpretatio in XIV epistulas Sancti Pauli* (PG 82: 36-877); Sophokles: priesthood, citing Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, II.I, τὰ χαρίσματα τῆς ἱερωσύνης (PG XLI. I. 868D).

181 ἐν τῷ κήπῳ See Chapter One, 25.

ὀθονίου linen garment: Pall. *HL* 1. 2.

CHAPTER 8

186 Τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολουσαμένη see A. Sharf, "The Eighth Day of the Week", in *Καθηγητρια: Essays presented to Joan Hussey* (Porphyrogenitus, Surrey, 1988), 27-50. All mention of eight days in the Bible is linked to circumcision and baptism as "circumcision without hands" in the Syriac tradition. It is also the act of chrismation, when a week later, the final washing of the initiate occurs. This water is then poured in the garden as it is too sacred to join the common sewage. Bauer: ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ὁ Lk 1: 59 (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ); Acts 7: 8 (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ). The eighth day is also symbolic of the Resurrection and Age to come.

206 συνθήκας also used for a contract of marriage and in marriage vows. Attested in papyri, eg. P. Oxy 6. 903. 18 (C4th) concerning an elaborate indictment of a husband by his wife who gives a circumstantial account of the former's violent/ insulting behaviour extending over a considerable period of time. "Whereupon a marriage deed was made (καὶ γαμικὸν γέγονεν) and after this agreement (συνθήκας) and his oaths, he again hid the keys from me". This couple seem to have been united originally by an ἀγραφὸς γάμος and subsequently by a regular contract.

211 ἀπαθείας *Apatheia* was a key element of St. Symeon the New Theologian's discourse, see H. Alfeyev, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), 249-255. He traces the evolution of the term from Classical to Christian authors, noting its Stoic origin meaning "indifference" (249). John Climacus wrote that "dispassion possesses the beauty of virtues" [*Ladder* 29 (1148B), cited by Alfeyev (250)]. Later writers used *apatheia* to speak of control over desire. In the *Apophthegmata* this would often apply to mastering desire for women. [*idem* 251]. Thus Abba Serapion tested himself by going to a prostitute and spent the night reciting the Psalms (Serapion 1). For Symeon, attaining *apatheia* was a pinnacle of spiritual

awareness (*idem* 253) but distinguishes between *apatheia* of the soul which is a higher state than that of the body (*idem* 254).

CHAPTER 9

218 τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ cf. John 2. 1, the wedding at Cana which is symbolic of the true nature of marriage.

223-225 ἡ κυρία μου Ἐπιστήμη...πένησιν Isaiah 3. 16-23, corruption of humankind and human vice is manifested in the “finery of anklets”. Coon discusses this reference briefly, describing how “the adorned body of a woman is the physical representation of human sin” [L. L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1997), 31].

227 τὸ ὄρος Πούπλιον My search for the location of Mount Pouplion, as in the quest for the governors, has been fruitless. However the text later refers to Mount Sinai (l. 255-56). From descriptions of the Sinai region it appears that there is a mountain opposite the monastery of Saint Catherine called Mount Episteme. Léon de Laborde writes, “I shall here, however, content myself with quoting a description, already grown old, of the exterior of the convent (St. Catherine), given by the superior of the Franciscans, in the account of the journey he made in 1722: ‘the mountain situated to the north-east is dedicated to St. Bestin (St. Episteme), the other, to the right, is Mount Horeb; between both is the convent of Sinai’” [M. Léon de Laborde in *Journey through Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai and the Excavated City of Petra* (J. Murray, London, 1836), 229]. Eckenstein relates that “the settlement where Episteme dwelt was afterwards allotted to the slaves who were brought into Sinai and appointed to serve the convent by the emperor Justinian. The settlement lay on a slope north-east of the convent facing the valley and was pointed out to Bishop Pococke in 1734”. She vainly attempts to link Pouplion to the site of the Burning Bush: ‘Pouplios (? Rubus, the Bush)’ [Eckenstein (1921), 97-98]. Bishop Pococke’s eighteenth-century account (1743-1745), mentions that at “the south-west corner of Mount Episteme at the entrance both into the valley of Sheik Salem and into

that of the convent from the valley of Rahah, there is a little hill called by the Arabs Araone" [Bishop Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (printed for the author, London, 1743-1745), 147]. Finally Skrobucha writes, "among these Christian refugees must certainly be included Galaktion and his wife Episteme who journey from Emesa and settled on a mountain near the Mountain of law...the martyrs' bodies were brought back to Sinai by Eutolmios, their former slave, and henceforth a hollow in the mountains bore the name of Episteme. These first martyrs from Sinai were followed by many more", [H. Skrobucha, *Sinai* (Oxford University Press, London & New York, 1966), 19].

233 Τὸ ἀσκητήριον Socrates, in *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4: 23 has one note for this term in his chapter on those leading the solitary life. Ἀσκητήριον there, means an ascetic apartment. As a habitation for women, see Justinian, *nov.* 59.4. Psellos much later, uses it twice to mean different things each time: a sacred building and a refuge (for rehabilitating prostitutes): *Chronographia* 4. 31. 12; 4. 37. 14

235 καταγώγιον In ecclesiastical writings such as those of Chrysostom, the word indicates a sacred refuge. Lampe: Pall. *HL.* 24. 1 and Theodoret *Hist. Rel.* 3. Of a monastery guest house, Pall. *HL.* 19. 2. In later Greek literature, for example in Anna Comnena, it means a 'dwelling place' or 'refuge' with no connotations of sanctity.

CHAPTER 11

253 διωγμὸς μέγας cf. Acts 8: 1.

CHAPTER 12

276 φωστῆρες Bauer: splendor, radiance, Rev 21: 11.

281 οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ...ἔφυγον cf. emphasis on cowardice in the *Martyrdom of Pionius* chs. 2: 4; 4: 1.

- 283 τῆς διακόνου Bauer: Pliny Ep 10, 96, 8 cf. CIG II. 3037 διάκονος
τόχη ἡ δ. Sophokles: Ro 16:1 (Phoebe). See also CIG II. 1800 for a college of
διάκονοι where a female deacon is mentioned
- 285-286 τὸν κύριόν μου Γαλακτίωνα their bond still remains.
- 289 βασανιστήρια MPol 2. 3 (βασανιστων); 2. 4 (βασάνων).
- 298-299 Θέκλα ἡ πρωτομάρτυς Thekla is characterised (so) in the opening
of her *Acta* and elsewhere in literature: Evagrius, *HE* 3. 8 πρωτομάρτυρα Θέκλαν
(PG 86. 2612b) [Bowersock (1995), 75-76]. See also S. J. Davis, *The Cult of Thekla: a
Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford,
2001). Throughout the *Acts* heavy emphasis is placed on chastity, "Blessed are
the bodies of the virgins, for they will be well-pleasing to God and will not lose
the reward of their purity", *ATh*, 7. Episteme's deaconess is not only referring to
Thekla as a renowned example for all virgins but also to the fame of her travels
(*idem* 22-26). By leaving her home and journeying to find Galaktion, Episteme
mirrors Thekla in her quest to find Paul.

CHAPTER 13

- 312-313 κατ' ἔχνος Bauer: usually τοῖς ἔχνος Ro 4: 12 to follow the
example of the faith.
- 317 προκαθίσας There is no detail where the trial is taking place.
Οὔρσος Cannot be traced in *PLRE* or *PIR*.
- 319ff λέγει Bisbee has narrowed down the form of genuine trial/legal
minutes to eight elements, "(1) extract-phrase (the word for *commentarii* -
ὑπομνηματισμῶν); (2) name and usually title of the presiding magistrate; (3) date-
formula; (4) location of the trial; (5) a presence-phrase (eg. παρόντων ἐν
συμβουλίῳ); (6) a participants-formula (the names of the people involved); (7) a
delegation-phrase (to indicate that the case has been "delegated" to a subordinate
magistrate or that there is a delegation from a city to a governor (p. 47) and
finally (8) an "ellipsis-phrase" (when phrases containing μεθ' ἕτερα for example,
are used)" [Bisbee (1988), 36]. In this *Life* only element (2) occurs. Furthermore,

Oursos makes no attempt to try and change Galaktion's mind as in many martyr accounts. The entire trial scene does not match with those reckoned as genuine.

319-320 Τίς ὑπάρχει ὁ μελανοφόρος οὗτος...αὐτῷ Galaktion and Episteme are wearing black, fulfilling Episteme's prophetic dream in l. 180; 183-184.

324 λίθοι καὶ ὕλη φθαρτή cf. *Martyrdom of Apollonius* 14 and Dan 5: 4; Rev 9: 20.

326 βουνευρίζεσθω Lampe: To beat with a whip formed from the tendon of an ox; Du Cange and Sophokles refer to the βούνευρον as a strap of raw ox hide used for beating offenders. A verb preferred in the *Lives* and *Martyrdoms* of saints, for example in the *Life* of St. George, George is scourged with scourges "made of the entrails of oxen", [Frend (1993), 53].

CHAPTER 14

336 συνέζευξεν To join in wedlock. Bauer: Mt 19: 6; Mk 10: 9.

339-340 ἐτυφλώθη ὁ ἄρχων εὐθύς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες Delehayé notes that the chastisement most frequently inflicted on persecutors is the temporary loss of sight (metaphorical) [Delehayé (1966), 217]. See also the *Martyrdom* of SS. Victor and Coronos (*BHL* 8559; *AASS* May 3: 267). The incident mostly ends with a new miracle - by the prayers of the martyr, the blind recover their sight.

348 καλάμους cf. Eus. *HE* 6. 41 who describes how during the martyrdom of Metras, pointed reeds were driven into his face and eyes (the trial occurred in Alexandria under Decius). In 8. 12 pointed reeds were driven under the ends of the nails of both hands of the victim.

CHAPTER 15

361 ἀποτμηθῆναι. Eus. *HE* 5. 4. 3.

363 ἀπεκεφάλισαν In the *Acts* of the Martyrs of Lyons (*Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 47), "all those who were thought to possess Roman citizenship he had beheaded; the rest he condemned to the criminals". Decapitation was

prescribed for Roman citizens [T. D. Barnes, "Pre-Decian Acta Martyrorum", *JTS* 19 (1968), 507-531]. This would technically link with the fact that inhabitants of Emesa were seen as Roman citizens after Caracalla's edict.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Life and Martyrdom of Julian and Basilissa

*Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον*¹ τοῦ ἁγίου² Ἰουλιανοῦ · ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ πάθη
τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰουλιανοῦ, Βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν

e codice Vaticano gr. 1667 (= V), fol. 180-208,

collato in priore parte (§ 1-16) Athonensi Batopedino 84 (= B),
in posteriore vero (§ 17-64) Athonensi Dionysiano 143 (= D).

1. Prologue.

*Οἱ ὅσιοι μάρτυρες, τὸ αἰώνιον τοῦτο ἡμῖν καταλιμπάνοντες
δῶρον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀναχωρήσεως, τοῦτο καταλελοίπασιν ὅτι τὰς
πράξεις τῶν οἰκείων παθημάτων ἀσφαλὲς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς ἀθλοῦ-*

Lemma. —¹ πολιτεία B. —² καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος add. B.

Début et fin du chapitre 1 d'après le ms. Jérusalem 6, f. 328-329.

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Βασιλίσσης.

*Ταῦτά εἰσιν τὰ πάθη τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰουλιανοῦ, Βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀθλήσεως τελεσάντων.*

*Οἱ ὅσιοι μάρτυρες, τὸ αἰώνιον τοῦτο ἡμῖν καταλιμπάνοντες δῶρον, εἰς
μνήμην τῶν ἀθλῶν αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς διεγείρουσιν. Τὰς γὰρ πράξεις τῶν οἰκείων
κατορθωμάτων ἀσφαλὲς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς ἀθλοῦσιν παρέπεμψαν καὶ ἐγένοντο
τοῖς τυφλοῖς ὁμμάτωσις, τοῖς ἀστηρίκτοις στήριγμα πίστεως · καὶ πᾶσιν
ἀπλῶς τῶν ἰδίων ἀρετῶν τὰ σημεία παρατίθενται · καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς θεῖον ἔρωτα διεγείρουσιν. Ἐκ τούτου ...*

*... ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα ποιεῖν διὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ, ἃ ὑπερβαίνει
τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων · θαυμαστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ,
καθὼς φησιν ὁ Δαβὶδ (Ps. 67, 36). Τοῦ τοίνυν ὁσιωτάτου μάρτυρος Ἰουλιανοῦ
οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πάθος ἐπιδείξω, ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐκ νεότητος δῶρον ἑαυτὸν τίμιον
παρέσχευεν τῷ θεῷ. Ταῦτα δὲ νῦν ἀκούοντες πιστεύετε τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις, ἵνα
πιστεύοντες μάθητε ὅλον παρέχει μισθὸν ἡ πίστις.*

οὐκ ἀναγινώσκοντες, πιστεύσατε³ μεθ' ἡμῶν πάντα δύναται εἶναι τῷ πιστεύοντι¹ (1)· διὰ τοῦτο ἄνευ τινὸς διαταγμοῦ τὸ τῆς κληρονομίας ἀγαθὸν ὅπερ ἡμῖν εἰς μίμησιν καταλελοιπασιν οἱ μάρτυρες μεταδιδώμεν. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, τοὺς ταῦτα μέλ- λοντας ἀναγινώσκειν, ἵνα προσόχῳ καρδίᾳ ἀκούσῃτε⁵ πόση δόξα ἐστὶν τὸν κόσμον καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς στενῆς τῶν ἀγίων οδοῦ δύνηθῶμεν ἀκόλουθοι τῆς ἐκείνων εἶναι πολιτείας, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκειν τὰς αὐτῶν πράξεις ἀληθές⁶ εἶναι ὁμολογή- σῃτε ὅπερ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἡ ἀλήθεια μαρτυρεῖ· «Μακάριοι ὅσοι εἶδον καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, μακαριώτεροι δὲ οἱ μὴ ἑωρακότες καὶ πιστεύσαντες (2).» Ἡμεῖς ἐπειδὴ εἶδομεν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀφθαλ- μοῖς τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων πράξεις γράφομεν· ὅθεν ἡμῖν μικρὸν μέγρος μακαριότητος πιστεύομεν ἔσεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀναγκαιο- τέρα περιμένει δόξα τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ πιστεύοντας ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς πληροῦσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ τοίνυν ὁσιωτάτου μάρτυρος Ἰουλιανοῦ τὸ πάθος ἐπιδείξω καὶ⁷ πῶς αὐτὸν⁸ ἐκ νεότητος τῷ θεῷ τίμιον παρέσχεν οὐ σιωπήσω. Πιστεύετε τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις, ἵνα πιστεύοντες μάθῃτε οἷός ἐστιν ὁ μισθὸς πιστοῖς.

2. Vertueuse jeunesse de Julien.

Οὗτος ὁ μακάριος γένους ἦν ἐπιφανοῦς ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. Ὅν οἱ γονεῖς μονογενὲς ἐνέχοντο τῶν ἰδίων σπλάγχνων καὶ τῆς¹ οἰκείας ἀνέθρεψαν αὐτῶν γονῆς²· δὴ πᾶσιν διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ τῶν σοφῶν ἐμυήσαντο³· οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ⁴ διαλεκτικῆς ἢ δητοδικῆς

1. —¹ παρτιθένται B, a. c. V. —² ἀγκάλη B, a. c. V. —³ πιστεύσαντες V. —⁴ καὶ add. B. —⁵ corr. ex ἀκούσεσθαι V ; ἀκούσθε B. —⁶ scripsi, ἀληθεῖς VB. —⁷ ἀλλὰ B. —⁸ ἑαυτὸν B.

2. —¹ s. l. V. —² (a. γ.) ἀπογονῆς B, a. c. V. —³ ἐμύησεν a. c. V, ἐμύησαν B. —⁴ s. l. V.

(1) Marc. 9, 23.

(2) Cf. Joh. 20, 29.

τοῦτον ἐλάνθανεν εὐφυῖα. Καὶ τὴν του κόσμου σοφίαν ὡς καυὸς ἀολητῆς Χριστοῦ ἀποκειμένην ἐκράτει καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ οὕτως ἐκέχρητο ὥς μὴ χρώμενος (3). Ἀνεγνώκει γὰρ τὸν πάντων δι- δάσκαλον τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὅτι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτου παρ- λεύσεται· καὶ ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου⁵ ἀκόσμως παρέλθῃ⁶ (4), οὕτως ἑαυτὸν τίμιον τῷ θεῷ παρείχετο ὥστε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σοφίαν μωρίαν λογίζεσθαι (5). Ἡὔχετο γὰρ αἰεὶ ὡς⁷ πατριῶτος τοῦ κόσμου ἄνευ μνήμης εἶναι μετὰ Χριστοῦ, ἐραστῆς τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας γενόμενος⁸· καθ' ἡμέραν ταῖς θύραις τῶν ἀγίων προσκολώμενος τὰς φυλακὰς οὐδεμιᾶ παρελίμπανεν ἡμέρα· καὶ ὥσπερ καλὸς ἐργάτης θησαυρὸν ἀντιτίθετο⁹ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, πάντων τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἐκλεκτῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς πράξεις μιμούμενος καὶ¹⁰ σπεύδων εἰς τὰς ἐκάστου¹¹ ἀρετὰς ἐπὶ ἡμέρῃ¹² Χριστοῦ· ἐνέκειτο τοῖς σπλάγχνοις αὐτοῦ ὁ¹³ τέλειος πόθος ὅστις ἐκβάλλει τὸν φόβον (6). Οὕτως ἑαυτὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν προετίθει τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐχώριζεν¹⁴, ὡς ὀρθῶς ὁμολογῶν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην λέγειν¹⁵· «Ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ὑπάρχω, ξενιτεύω ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.» Καὶ ὅστις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν ἐβούλετο ὅτι Χριστῷ ἀρέσκειν ἔσπευδεν, ἔκρυπτε τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπιθυμίαν.

⁵ (τοῦτου - κ.) B, om. V propter homoeoteleuton. —⁶ B, a. c. V ; παρέρχεται c. V. —⁷ s. l. V, om. B. —⁸ s. l. V, om. B. —⁹ ἀντιτίθετο B. —¹⁰ om. B. —¹¹ ἐκάστου B. —¹² τοῦ add. B. —¹³ om. B. —¹⁴ c. s. l. V, κέχωρήκει B. —¹⁵ λέγειν a. c. V ; om. B.

Manuscrit Jérusalem 6

2. Οὗτος... τούτω. Ὅν οἱ γονεῖς μονογενῆ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων σπλάγχνων προσα- γόντες ἀνέθρεψαν ἐκ νηπιθῆεν ἐν πᾶσιν διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ τῶν θείων γρα- φῶν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἑξωθεν μετέχοντα παιδεύσεως, οὐδεμιᾶς δια- λεκτικῆς... εὐφυῖα· καὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου σοφίᾳ οὗτος ἐκέχρητο ὅσον συνεγρᾶν ἔχειν ὡς τὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μαθήματα ἀλχημαλιζῶν πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον (2 Cor. 10, 5)...

(3) Cf. 1 Cor. 7, 31.

(5) Cf. 1 Cor. 3, 19.

(4) Cf. Ibid.

(6) Cf. 1 Joh. 4, 18.

3. Ses parents le pressent de se marier.

Τούτον οἱ γονεῖς ὀρθῶντες τηλικαύτην προσεχείᾳ¹ ψυχῆς τοῖς² τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως ἀσκηταῖς παραμένοντα, προσκαλεσάμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν σεβάσμιον νεανίαν³ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις προέτερον· « Γλυκύτατον ἡμῶν καὶ σεβάσμιον τέκνον, ἄκουε τῶν σὼν γονέων τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν παραίνεσιν, ὅτι περ ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ νόμῳ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς τοῦ μακαρίου ἀποστόλου τοῦ πάντων χριστιανῶν διδασκάλου διδάχαις πνευματικαῖς ἐκδίδασκόμεθα. Λέγει γάρ⁴ τεκνογονεῖν, οἰκοδοποτεῖν, μηδεμίαν παρῆλκεν ἀφορμὴν τῷ πονηρῷ (7). Διό σε προτρέπομεν οὐ τοσοῦτον εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν συναινέσαι ὅσον ἵνα τῷ νόμῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ πιστὸς εἶναι φανῇς⁵. » Ἰπὸς ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς γονέουσιν· « Οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως οὐδὲ ἡλικίας καιρὸς ἔστιν ἵνα ποιήσω ἃ μοι⁶ προτρέπεσθε. » Ἰπὸς ταῦτα οἱ γονεῖς ἀπεκρίναντο· « Ἐνιαντῶν εἰ δεκακαιοκτώ· καὶ⁷ πῶς παραιτήσασθαι δύνη κληρώσασθαι σύλῳγον; Οὐ βουλόμεθά· σε τὸν καιρὸν προφασίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σπεύδομεν μίᾳ γυναικὸς εἶναι σε ἄνδρα, ἵνα γονὴν συγκεχωρημένην⁸ πατῆρ γενόμενος ἐκ μιᾶς⁹ συναιρέσεως παραστήσης θεῷ τὸ παιδίον¹⁰, ἀγρουσῶν καὶ νικωμένων τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὥς¹¹ καὶ μιᾷ προαιρέσει μετὰ τῆς¹² συνημένης¹³ σωτηριώδους διδάχῃς συνέλθῃτε¹⁴. » Ταῦτα ἔπαρτον οἱ γονεῖς ὅπως τὸ ἑαυτῶν σπέρμα ἀναστήσωσιν (8), ὅπερ τέλος ἔχειν ἐπίστευον εἰ μὴ¹⁵ τῇ αὐτοῦ γενήσῃ¹⁶ ἀνακαινοθῆ. Τὰς τῶν γονέων τοίνυν ἐπαχθείας μὴ ὑπομένων καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συγγενῶν συμβουλίας ἀποφράττων¹⁷ ὁ μακάριος, τοῖς συμβουλευούσιν ταύτην ἔδωκε τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· « Οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐπιτηγήμασθαί μοι ἔστιν εὐχέλεια, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀγρησασθαι ἐξουσία εἰς τοῦτο ὃ προτρέπετέ με¹⁸. δι' ὁπερ ἔπαθ' ἡμερῶν διορίαν αἰτῶ· καὶ καθὼς ὁ θεὸς ἀξιώσει με

3. —¹ τῆς add. B. —² marg. V. —³ νεανίσκον B. —⁴ sequuntur litterae c. 12 erasae V, νέους θέλω γαμῆν add. B. —⁵ πανέλης B. —⁶ om. B. —⁷ om. B. —⁸ γονῆς σ - ης c. V. —⁹ (ἐκ μ.) τῆς ἡμῶν c. s. l. V. —¹⁰ τὸ π. s. l. V, om. B. —¹¹ marg. V, om. B. —¹² σῆς add. B. —¹³ σοι τὴν add. s. l. V. —¹⁴ σωτηριώδη διδάχην συνεργόμενος c. s. l. V. —¹⁵ (εἰ μὴ) ἐὰν c. s. l. V. —¹⁶ ἀπο praeem. marg. V. —¹⁷ ἀποφρίττων B. —¹⁸ μοι B.

(7) Cl. 1 Tim. 5, 14.

(8) Cl. Matth. 22, 24.

ἐμπνεῦσαι, ἀπόκρισιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ δέξεσθε¹⁹. » Ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οἱ γονεῖς πολλαῖς ἐνθυμήσεσιν κατετήκοντο, ἕως οὗ ἡ ὠρισμένη ἡμέρα παρεγένετο ἐν ἧ ἀκούσασιν²⁰ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀπόκρισιν.

4. Le Maître l'engage à obéir, mais à garder la chasteté avec son épouse.

Ὁ δὲ σεπτὸς παῖς τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξανύσας ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα διανυκτερεύων καὶ προσευχόμενος¹ ἤτει ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην παρθενίαν οἰσθήποτε μιάνη προφάσει. Τῇ ἐβδόμῃ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ, παραγενομένης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἐκτετηκὸτος ἀπὸ² τῆς νηστείας, ἐπιγενομένου ὕπνου παρῆε³ τὸ δεσπότης· καὶ παραμυθίζεται τὸν πιστὸν δοῦλον· καὶ τὸν κυρωθέντα λογισμὸν⁴ τῇ διανοίᾳ⁵ σταθεροί· καὶ ταύτας παρακελεύει⁶ ποιεῖν τὰς παραγγελίας καὶ τοιαύτην⁷ παραινέσιν προσφθέγγεται λέγων· « Ἀνάστα μὴ φοβηθεῖς μηδὲ τὴν συμβουλήν τῶν ῥημάτων ἣ τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν γονέων δεδοικώς. Λήγει γάρ σύλῳγον, οὐχ ἥτις χραίνουσά σε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ χωρίσει, ἀλλὰ διὰ σοῦ παρθένον οὖσαν, καὶ σέ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖρανοῖς παρθένους ἀναδέξομαι· πολλὴ γάρ μοι⁸ δι' ὑμῶν σωφροσύνη ἀφορισθήσεται⁹· πολλοὶ νεανίσκοι καὶ παρθένοι διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας διδασκαλίας¹⁰ ζωῆς οὐρανοπολίται δειχθήσονται. Παρέσομαί σοι οἰκῶν ἐν σοὶ ἵνα πάσας τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς σαρκὸς¹¹ καταστρέψω. Καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σοι¹² συνημένην μεταστρέψω¹³ εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν πόθον καὶ σὴν ἀκόλουθον ποιήσω. Καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι τῷ ὑμῖν προητοιμασμένῳ ὤψεσθέ με μετὰ ἀγγελικοῦ χοροῦ καὶ ἀναριθμήτων¹⁴ παρθένων ἐκατέρας φύσεως, οὗς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἐπολήσεν ἀνομήλους, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἡ εἰς ἐμέ ὁμοίους ἀπεργάζεται· ὧν σὺ μιμητῆς εἶναι γνωσθήσῃ. » Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ κύριος ἦψατο αὐτοῦ λέγων· « Ἀνδρείως παῖτε καὶ ἰσχυροποιηθήσεται σοὺ ἡ καρδία (9). » Ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς σταθερωθεὶς¹⁵ ὁ θαυμά-

¹⁹ δέξεσθε B, a. c. V. —²⁰ ἀκούουσιν c. s. l. V.

4. —¹ ἡμέρα τε καὶ νυκτὶ προσευχαῖς διαν. B. —² (ἐκτ. δ.) τετηκὸτος ἐκ B. —³ s. l. V, om. B. —⁴ βεβαίῳ add. marg. V. —⁵ κελύει B. —⁶ τὴν αὐτὴν V. —⁷ om. V. —⁸ γενήσεται c. s. l. V. —⁹ διδάχῃς καὶ B. —¹⁰ ἐπιθυμίας B, a. c. V. —¹¹ om. V. —¹² μετατρέψω B. —¹³ ἀναριθμήτου πλήθους B. —¹⁴ στερεωθεὶς c. s. l. V.

(9) Cl. Ps. 26, 14.

σας παῖς, ἀναστὰς ἡὺχαρίσται τῷ θεῷ λέγων· «Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, δέ-
 σποτα, ὃς ἐξευνητῆς εἰ καθόδια καὶ φρενῶν (10), ὅστις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
 τὰ στήματα καὶ τὰς τέρεναις τοῦ κόσμου πόρῳ πεποίηκας, ἵνα
 σπεύσω¹⁵ πιστεῦειν τῇ καρδίᾳ, βοηθούσης τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ
 βραβεύουσης ἐν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὅπερ οὐδὲ ὀρθολόγος εἶδεν οὐδὲ
 ἀκοῇ ἤκουσεν, ἡ ἡτοίμασας (11) τοῦτοις οἵτινες ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας
 ἀκολουθοῦσιν¹⁶ σοι, ὅστις με ἡξίωσας εἶναι δόδον¹⁷. μάλλον δὲ
 σὺ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔσο ἀγαθὴ ὁδὸς καὶ¹⁸ τοῦτοις οἵτινες ἀγαπῶσιν τὴν
 σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκεραιότητα καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸ
 καθαρὸν περιετύσσονται. Σὺ ἔγνως, κύριε, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας
 ἧς ἐγεννήθην ἕως τῆς ὥρας ὅτε με καλέσαι ἡξίωσας, οὐδὲν προεβέ-
 μην τοῦ σοῦ πόθου. Εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιθυμῶ ἵνα τὸ ἐκτορευθ-
 μενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου σὺ βεβαιώσης, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐμαυτὸν
 πιστεύω ἐνάγχεσθαι¹⁹ ὅτε πληρῶ. »

5. Mariage de Julien et de Basilisse.

Τελειωθέντος τοῦ λόγου, ἐξέρχεται¹ ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος Ἰλαδός²,
 τῇ Ἰλαδίᾳ³ τοῦ οἰκείου χαρακτῆρος τὴν τῶν γονέων ἀφαιρου-
 μενος⁴ στυγνότητα. Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· « Ἴδού ὡς ἐπι-
 ποθεῖτε⁵, ἐκ θείας παραγγελίας ἔγνω τὸν γάμον μοι μὴ πρὸ-
 φασιν ἀμαρτήματος εἶναι ἀλλὰ χαρᾶς· ἥδη ποιήσω⁶ ὅπερ προ-
 τρέπετε. » Χαίρουσιν οἱ γονεῖς ἐκπλήκτοντες ἀπογονὴν ἐσομένην⁷.
 Καὶ τί πολλὰ λέγω⁸; Ζητεῖται ἥτις ὁμοία αὐτῷ εἶναι δυνηθῇ ἐν
 εὐπορίαις καὶ τρόποις καὶ εὐγενείᾳ γένους· προνοούσης⁹ τῆς τοῦ
 θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ὃς τοῦτο τὸ δῶρον ἐκ ταύτης ἔτατε τῆς συζυ-
 γίας, εὐχέσθῃ παθένος τοιαύτη¹⁰ ἥτις καὶ εὐπορίαις ἦν πολυκτημῶν,
 ἐνδοξος καὶ ἴση τῷ γένει, δνόματι Βασίλισσα· ἥτις καὶ αὐτὴ μονο-
 γενῆς τοῖς γονεῦσιν θυγάτηρ ὑπῆρχεν· καὶ ὡς ἔθος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 ὁμιλίας περὶ γάμου γενομένης¹¹, ἀνεδέξαντο οἱ γονεῖς τῆς κόρης
 ἐρωτῶντες¹² τὸν λόγον. Καὶ τῇ τῶν εὐγενῶν τάξει ὁ τῶν γάμων

¹⁵ πιστεύω V, a. c. B. — ¹⁶ ἀκολουθῶσιν V. — ¹⁷ ἐν δόδῳ σου c. s. l. V. —
¹⁸ om. B. — ¹⁹ ἀνάγχ. c. s. l. V.

5. — ¹ οὖν add. marg. V. — ² suppl. ὥστε? — ³ Ἰλαδίῃτι c. s. l. V. —
⁴ ἀφελέσθαι c. s. l. V. — ⁵ ἐπιποθ. B. — ⁶ ποιῶ c. s. l. V. — ⁷ (ἀ. ἐ.) ἀπὸ τῆς
 γονῆς τοῦτου ἔσεσθαι παῖδα c. s. l. V. — ⁸ om. B. — ⁹ προνοουμένης τοῖων c.
 V. — ¹⁰ ἡγέσθη τοι, π. B. — ¹¹ γίνεσθαι c. V. — ¹² ἐρωτῶντες B.

(10) Cl. Sap. 1, 6; Ps. 7, 10.

(11) Cl. 1 Cor. 2, 9.

καὶ ὁς ὠρίζετο· καὶ πάντα βεβαιοῦνται τὰ ταῖς δέλοις¹³ εἰωθότα
 τῶν ζευγνυμένων περιέχεσθαι¹⁴. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς οὕτως
 τὴν ἡμέραν προσεδόκα τῶν γάμων ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἀθλητῆς ἡττωμένης
 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σπεύδων ἀρέσαι. Παραραγομένης δὲ
 τῆς ὀρισθείσης ἡμέρας, αἱ γέιτρονες πόλεις συνέρχονται, ποικίλας
 τοῦ πλήθους τέρεναις μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαρόμεναι δι' ὧν ἡ διάνοια τῆς
 τρυφεράς ἡλικίας εἰς ἔξωτος ἐπιθυμίαν διεγερθῆσεται. Ἦχουν αἱ
 πλᾶτεια τῷ τῶν ὀργάνων πυργμῷ καὶ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν¹⁵ μουσικῶν.
 Πλήθος¹⁶ παθένων, χρυσείοις κοσμοῖς ποικίλλουσιν τοὺς πλοκά-
 μους, τοῖς ᾄσμασι τῆς ἡδυτάτης φωνῆς καὶ στερεὸν ἔλκον ἀνθρω-
 πον τῇ τέρεναι τῆς ἀσωτίας. Μεταδὲ τηλικούτων βαρβαρικῶν ἔθνων
 ἔκαμνεν¹⁷ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀθλητῆς ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανός, μηδενὶ
 τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας φανερῶν εἰ μὴ μόνον τῷ δεσπότη, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν
 ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης προσεδόκα.

6. Julien vante à Basilisse la virginité.

Καὶ προσαχθεῖσαν¹ ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου τὴν νύμφην δέχεται Ἰλαδὼς,
 μεθ' ἧς καὶ² ἀγάλλεται ἐν τῷ δεσπότη· καὶ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἑαυτὸν
 Ἰλαρὸν ὑπεδείκνυν³, ἐν δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ καρδίᾳ τῷ δεσπότη ἔψαλλεν
 λέγων· « Δέσποτα, πύρωσον τοὺς νεφρούς μου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν
 μου (12), ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἀρχαῖος δρόκων διεγείρῃ κατ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμον. »
 Ἐγχιζούσης δὲ τῆς ὥρας ἐν ᾗ πρὸς τὴν κλίνην ἔδει βαδίζειν μετὰ
 τῆς παραδόμενης αὐτῷ παθένου, ὁ σεβασμῖος νεανίσκος, ἀσφαλι-
 σθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότη, τὸν κοιτῶνα ἀμερόμινως εἰσέρχεται·
 ἐν ᾧ, πρῶτερον εὐχῆς γενομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὁσμή κλίνων τε καὶ
 δόδων ἐφάνη, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὴν παρθένον ἐν τοιοῦτῳ εἶναι τόπῳ.
 Δίδοται ἡσυχία τῆς νυκτός· καὶ φησιν ἡ παρθένος πρὸς τὸν αὐτῇ
 συνημμένον νεανίαν· « Θαυμαστὸν πᾶν γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι, ὅπερ εἰ
 καὶ σὺ αἰσθάνῃ, μὴ μοι ἀγνήσῃ. » Ἦτινι ὁ μακάριος⁴ Ἰουλιανός
 ἀποκρίνεται· « Ἀἰσθάνῃ πιστῶς ἐκδιήγησαι. » Ἡ παρθένος εἰ-

¹³ (τ. δ.) τοῖς γάμοις c. V. — ¹⁴ (τ. ζ. π.) ἐν τοῖς συγγεννυμένοις γίνεσθαι
 c. s. l. V. — ¹⁵ τῇ δ. τ. c. V, διάφοροι φωναὶ a. c. V, διάφοροι φωναὶ B. — ¹⁶ γὰρ
 add. s. l. V. — ¹⁷ ἔκαμνεν B, a. c. V.

6. — ¹ προσαχθ. B. — ² om. B. — ³ εἰδέν. B. — ⁴ σεβασμῖος B.

(12) Ps. 25, 2.

πεν· «Και τοῦ ὄντος τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεχοῦς πάντα τὰ ἄνθη, οὕτως ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνί μου⁵ τοῦτω ὁσμὴ πάντων ὑπάρχει, ὥστε ταύταις ταῖς ἡδυτάταις ὁσμαῖς ἡδυνθεῖσα φρίττω, ὥστε μὴ παντελῶς ἐπιθυμῆν τὴν τῆς σ τραμνῆς συνάφειαν. » Ἦτινι ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς ἔφη· « Ἡ εὐδαιμονία ὁσμὴ ἥτις σοι ἐφάνη, ἥτις οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἔχει οὐδὲ χρόνους, ὅστις⁶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν καιρῶν δίδωσι χάριν, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ⁷ Χριστὸς ὁ δεσπότης, ὅστις ἐστὶν ἐραστής σωφροσύνης, ὅστις τοῖς τὴν ἀκραϊότητα τοῦ σώματος φυλάττουσι ζώῃν ἀποδίδωσιν αἰώνιον⁸. Εἰ τὰς τοῦτου παραγγελίας μετ' ἐμοῦ βουληθείης ἀναδέξασθαι, ἵνα τοῦτον ὅλην προσεχέῃς ἀγαπῶμεν, ἵνα τὴν παρθενίαν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν συγκεχωρημένην⁹ φυλάξωμεν, καὶ γενοίμεθα¹⁰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι σκευὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτὰ ἐν οἷς οἰκῆσθαι ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, καὶ¹¹ μετ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσομεν καὶ οὐ μὴ χωρισθῶμεν αὐτοῦ¹². » Πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ μακαρία Βασιλίσσα ἀποκρίνεται· « Ἰαί ποία¹⁴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀναγκαία σωτηρία εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ φυλάττειν παρθενίαν καὶ ζωῆς ἐπιτηγχνᾶν αἰωνίου; Ὅπως πιστεύω ὡς λέγεις καὶ εὐχομαι σοι ὁμολώμων¹⁵ εἶναι, ἵνα κτήσωμαι αἰώνιον μισθὸν τὸν δεσπότην μου¹⁷ Χριστόν. » Ταῦτα αὐτῆς λεγούσης, ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς, πεσὼν εἰς προσκύνησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους, ἔκειτο ἀναβῶν καὶ λέγων· « Βεβαίωσον τοῦτο, δέσποτα, ὃ εἰργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν (13). » Καὶ τοῦτο ὁρῶσα ἡ παρθένος ὡσαύτως¹⁸ ἐποίησεν.

7. Une grande apparition céleste confirme les deux saints.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξαίφνης οἱ θεμέλιοι τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐκινήθησαν καὶ φῶς ἀνεκδήγητον ἐξέλαμψεν¹, ὥστε τὸ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ φῶς τῷ μεγέθει ἐκείνου τοῦ φωτὸς καλυφθῆναι². Καθὼς γέγραπται, ἐπληρώθη ὁπρε εἰρηται· « Θέλημα ἐγενήθημεν καὶ³ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις (14). » Ἦνεται τοίνυν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι θέλημα μέγιστον πνευματικόν· ἐξ ἐνὸς μέρους ἐκάθητο ὁ αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς Χριστὸς μετὰ ἀναριθμήτου

⁵ μοι B. — ⁶ ἥτις c. s. l. V. — ⁷ om. B. — ⁸ αἰώνιαν B. — ⁹ κεχωρημένην c. s. l. V. — ¹⁰ γενόμεθα B. — ¹¹ om. B. — ¹² s. l. V, om. B. — ¹³ s. l. V, om. B. — ¹⁴ ἀκμήν(?) add. s. l. V. — ¹⁵ ita VB, an pro ὅτιντεγ ? (cl. Lat. gula). — ¹⁶ ὁμολώματος B, a. c. V. — ¹⁷ s. l. V, om. B. — ¹⁸ s. l. V, om. B. — ⁷. — ¹ οὕτως add. B. — ² καὶ add. B. — ³ om. B.

(13) Cl. Ps. 67, 29.

(14) 1 Cor. 4, 9.

πλήθους λευχειμονούτων· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου μέρους ἀναρίθμητα πλήθη παρθένων, ὧν τὰ πρωτεῖα ἡ ἔνδοξος Μαρία ἡ παρθένος ἐκράτει. Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκράτετο· « Ἐνίκησας, Ἰουλιανέ, ἐνίκησας. » Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῆς βασιλίσσης ἐκράτετο· « Μακαρία εἰ⁴, Βασιλίσσα, ἥτις οὕτως σνηήσεας ταῖς σωτηριῶν δεισιν παραινέσεις καὶ τὰς ἀπάτας⁵ τοῦ κόσμου ἀποστύουσα πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον δόξαν σεαυτὴν προητοίμασας. » Ὡσαύτως ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ βασιλέως ἐβόατο· « Οἱ σ τρατιῶταί μου, οἵτινες ἐνίκησαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τοῦ ἐπρετοῦ ἡδονήν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐπαιγέσθωσαν⁶ καὶ προσεχει καρδίᾳ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς τὸ προκείμενον τῇ προητοιμασμένῃ αὐτοῖς σ τραμνῇ ἀναγνώττωσαν⁷. » Ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς σιωπώμενης⁸, οἱ ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους καθήμενοι ἀπεκρίναντο· « Ἀμήν. » Καὶ παραγενόμενοι δύο τινές⁹ λευκὰ ἐνδεδυμένοι, περὶ τὰ στήθη ἔχοντες χρυσὰς ζώνας καὶ ἀνὰ ἑνα¹⁰ στέφανον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, ἤγειραν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· « Ἐγείρεσθε, ἐπειδὴ ἐνίκησατε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀριθμῷ κατελογίσθητε¹¹. Θεάσασθε καὶ ὅπρε ὁρᾶτε ἐν τῇ σ τραμνῇ τῇ ὑμῖν προητοιμασθείσῃ¹² ἀνδγνυτε καὶ γνώτε ὅτι πιστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ (15). » Καὶ κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας¹³ ἔλκυζαν αὐτούς. Ἐνέκειτο¹⁴ δὲ βιβλίον λαμπρότερον ἑπτάκις ἀργύρου χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν γεγραμμένον· καὶ πέργι τῆς σ τραμνῆς τέσσαδες γέροντες εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν φιάλας χρυσὰς πεπληρωμένας ἀρωμάτων*, διαφόρων εὐωδίων ὁσμὰς ἀποδιδούσας. Καὶ ἀποκρίνεται εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγων· « Ἰδοὺ ἐν ταῦ ἀποδιδούσας. Καὶ ἀποκρίνεται εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγων· « Ἰδοὺ ἐν ταῦταις ταῖς τέσσασιν φιάλαις συνέχεται ἡ τελειότης ὑμῶν¹⁵· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ εὐωδίας ὁσμὴ ἀνέρχεται. Δι' ὅπρε μακάριοι ἐστε οἵτινες τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου¹⁶ τὰς πλείους ἐνικήσατε τέθρεις, σπενδόντες εἰς ἐκείνας δις ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη (16). » Ἀπελθεῖν, Ἰουλιανέ· ἀνάγνωθι ὅπρε ἡ μία τριάς κελύει. » Καὶ προσελθὼν πιστῶς ἤρξατο ἀναγινώσκειν· « Ὁ¹⁶ Ἰουλιανός, ὅστις¹⁷ τὸν περὶ ἐμέ πόθον ἔχων τοῦ κόσμου κατεφρόνησεν¹⁸, καταταγῆσεται τῷ

⁴ om. B. — ⁵ καὶ κολακείας add. B. — ⁶ ἀρτήτω c. marg. V. — ⁷ ἀναγνώσαν B, a. c. V. — ⁸ ἐκ τῆς add. marg. V. — ⁹ s. l. V, om. B. — ¹⁰ bis B et a. c. V. — ¹¹ καταλελόγηστε a. c. V. — ¹² προητ. V, προεπτερισεθείσῃ B. — ¹³ (α. τ. χ.) αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν c. s. l. V. — ¹⁴ ἐνέκειτο B. — ¹⁵ om. B. — ¹⁶ om. B. — ¹⁷ ἄμα add. B, add. del. V. — ¹⁸ περιεφρόνησεν B.

(15) Cl. Ps. 144, 14.

* Cl. Apoc. 5, 8.

(16) 1 Cor. 2, 9.

καὶ τῶν μη γυναικῶν μετὰ γυναικός¹⁹ (17). Βασιλεύει²⁰ ἡ τις ἀρεταία οὕσα τῇ²⁰ παρὸς συνελεύσαστο τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ²¹, διαγινώσκου²² τοῦ δεσπότου ἢ α ῥ ί α τὰ πρῶται κραιεῖ. » Ταῦτα λέγου²³ ἡμῖν καὶ αἱ²⁵ μυριάδες μυριάδων (18) τὸ²⁶ ἅμῃν μιᾶ φωνῇ χαίρου²⁷τες. Καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· « Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ, ὡς ἴδ²⁸ ὁρατε, εἰσὶν γεγραμμένοι²⁹ οἱ σῶτρες, οἱ πρῶτοι, οἱ ἀληθεῖς, οἱ οἰκτιρῶντες, οἱ ταπεινοί, οἱ πρῶτοι, οἱ μὴ πλάστη³⁰ ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν, οἱ τὰ λυπηρὰ ὑπομένοντες, οἱ συντηγμένοι ὑπομένοντες καὶ οἱ τινες τῆς περὶ τὸν δεσπότην ληιστὸν ἀγάτης οὐδὲν πρῶτον, οὐ πατέρα, οὐ μητέρα, οὐ γυναῖκα, οὐ τέκνα, οὐκ ἀγροῦς (19), οὐ πλοῦτον ἢ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι ἐμποδίζοντα τῇ ψυχῇ, οἱ τινες οὕτε αὐτὰς τὰς ἰδίας ψυχὰς ὑπερέβητο παρὰδοθῆναι εἰς θάνατον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἶναι κατηξιώθητε. »

8. Leur mariage virginal est « divin ».

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ ὄρασις ἦν ἑώρων ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηροῦ³¹. Τότε χαίροντες ἐπὶ τῷ δεσπότη³² οἱ ἄγιοι καὶ³³ μακάριοι παρὸν³⁴ τοῖς λοιπὸν διάστημα τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ψαλμοῖς διετέλειαν. Καὶ τί πάλιν; Διέφασεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἣ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ συνελθὼν ἡγαλῖατο· καὶ προσεδόκων³⁵ ἰδεῖν τὸ συνοικεῖον ἀπὸ ἐξ ὀμίλων ἀνθρώπων ἐξευκέναι³⁶, ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ μὴ αἰσθανόμενοι θεῖον γεγενησθαι τὸ πᾶν συνοικεῖον. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ μακάριοι ἤρξαντο, πνεύματι καὶ οὐ σαρκί καταποροῦντες, τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θείας χάριτος τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδρυμένον κρύπτειν³⁷, ὥπως ἐκ³⁸ τοῦ δεσποῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν³⁹ ἀγγέλων γνωσθῆσεται τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν πρᾶττόμενον.

¹⁹ γυναικῶν B. — ²⁰ s. l. V, om. B. — ²¹ σ. τ. ᾧ. om. BV, supplevi ex H. — ²² διαγινώσκεται B. — ²³ καταλεγχέσθαι add. s. l. V. — ²⁴ τῶν add. s. l. V. — ²⁵ om. B. — ²⁶ om. B. — ²⁷ δ B. — ²⁸ (ε. γ.) γ. ε. B. — ²⁹ γεγραμένοι B, a. c. V. — ³⁰ ἡμῖν α. c. om. B. — ³¹ πρῶτον c. V. — ³² (7) c. s. l. V. — ³³ ἀπὸ τῶν (7) ἀπὸ τῶν c. V. — ³⁴ ὑπὸ c. s. l. V. — ³⁵ ἀγίων add. B.

(17) Cl. Apoc. 14, 4.
(19) Cl. Matth. 19, 29; Marc. 10, 29.

(18) Cl. Apoc. 5, 11.

9. Ils reçoivent l'héritage de leurs parents.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ὑστερεῖ¹ τοὺς ἐν² ἀγαθῇ πορευομένους ἀρεταίῳ³, οὕτως τὰ τῆς θείας χάριτος δῶρα⁴ προβαίνει ὡς πρὸ ὁλόγου χρόνου τοὺς ἐκατέγων γονεῖς ἐκ τοῦτου μετοικῆσαι τοῦ βίου, καταλιμπάνοντας⁵ κληρονόμους ἐπιτηδείους, δι' ὧν τῶν οὐρανῶν μὴ στερηθῶσιν βασιλείας· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πιστότατοι χριστιανοί. Τότε οἱ μακάριοι τὸν δοθεῖσα αὐτοῖς χρόνον λαθῶς ὑπεδέξαντο, τῆς ἑαυτῶν⁶ ἀδείας τὸ βραβεῖον ἀποληγόμενοι⁷, δι' οὗ ὑπεβέβησαν, τῆς φθαρτῆς οὐσίας εἰς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῶν οὐρανῶν οἰκῆσαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλὸς κόπος ἔστιν κατὰ τάξιν ἀκολουθῆσαι τῇ τούτῳ⁸ σεβασμίᾳ ζώῃ, ἐκ τῶν τηλικούτων κατορθωμάτων ὀλίγα διεξέλθωμεν.

10. Soucieux du salut des âmes,

ils réunissent l'un des moines, l'autre des religieuses.

Γίνεται τοῖς μακαρίοις ὁμόνοια οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐν μερίμναις¹, ἀλλὰ² καὶ πολλῶν ψυχῶν φροντίδα ἀναδέχονται. Διαδοῦνται τὰ οἰκητήρια· καὶ δύο λύχνοι ἐπάνω λυχνίας ὑψηλῶς ἐπιδύονται³, οἷς⁴ ὁ αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τὸ τῆς χάριτος ἔλλαιον ἐπιχορηγῶν καὶ⁵ δι' αὐτῶν⁶ τοῖς ἀγνώστοις⁷ ἐπιτέλει τῷ πυρφόρῳ λόγῳ⁸ τοὺς τριβόλους καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν κατέκαιεν· καὶ πανταχόθεν ἡ δυνατὴ τοῦ δεσποῦ φωνὴ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Βασιλίσσης προέτρειγεν λέγουσα· « Δεῦτε πρὸς με, πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφοβισμένοι· κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς (20). » Καθίστασι τοῖνυν μοναστήρια ἐν οἷς τὸ θέρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἐκ τῆς συνοχῆς τῶν ἀκαθάρτων [ἐκ] τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐξηραπάζον. Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀκούων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἁγίου

9. — ¹ οὐ στερεῖ B. — ² s. l. V, om. B. — ³ ἐν τοῦτοις add. s. l. V. — ⁴ καταλιμπάνοντας c. s. l. V. — ⁵ (τῆς ἐ.) ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης c. V. — ⁶ ἀγνοοῦνται ἐπιζήνουντες c. V, ληγόμενοι B. — ⁷ om. V. — ⁸ 10. — ¹ (ἐν μ.) ἐμμέριμος c. V. — ² δὴ add. s. l. V. — ³ καίονται c. s. l. V. — ⁴ οἷος a. c. V. — ⁵ om. B. — ⁶ τὴν ἀγίαν διδάσκαλον add. B. — ⁷ τ. ᾧ. marg. V. — ⁸ τὸν πυρφόρον λόγον B.

* Cl. Ps. 83, 12.

(20) Matth. 11, 28.

Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν λόγον κατείχετό τινα πᾶράγματι⁹ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον¹⁰. Κατελίπανον οὖν ἄνδρες γυναικας, τέκνα γονεὺς (21), μνηστοὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν μνηστὰς καὶ τὰς πατρῴας οὐσίας· καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον τοῖς πτωχοῖς παρέχοντες, τὴν στεινὴν ἀπηγόρευτον ὁδὸν (22)· οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτῶν, ἐπιθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν χεῖρα, εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀπέβλεπεν (23). Καὶ ἦν ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης ὡσαυτεὶ δέκα χιλιάδων μοναχῶν πατήρ· καὶ ὡσπερ γέγραπται¹¹. Τενεὶ παρῆχεται καὶ γενεὰ ἐρχεται¹² (24), ὅσοι εἰς τὴν οὐράνιον μετετάξονται¹³ ζωὴν, τοσοῦτοι¹⁴ ἐπέστρεφον πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην. Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπαριθμησασθαι δύναται τὸ τῶν ψυχῶν πλῆθος τὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ τελειωθὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν μετερχόμενον. Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ μακαρία Βασίλισσα παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν ψυχὰς ἐκ τοῦ δύπου¹⁵ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐλευθερωθείσας¹⁶ εἰς οὐρανὸν προέπεμψεν. Καὶ ἦν τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀγία τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμπορία· καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγίας Βασίλισσης ἐν παρθένοις καὶ γυναιξὶν σωρησύνῃς ἐξέλαμψεν νίκη. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦν πᾶσιν ἐγνωρίσθῃ ἡ τούτων σεβασμία ἀναστrophή τε καὶ ὁ βίος δι' ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος σαφηνισθεὶς, νῦν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐλευσόμεθα ἐν ᾧ τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐπέτυχον καὶ δείξομεν αὐτῶν τὰ ἐνδοξα βραβεῖα.

11. La persécution éclate en Égypte. Prière des deux saints.

Ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς Δ ι ο κ λ η τ ι α ν ο ὦ καὶ Μ α ξ ι μ ι α ν ο ὦ
μανία διωγμοῦ ἐπέπληται¹, ἥς² ἡ ὑπόνοια ἐπλήρωσεν πᾶσαν τὴν
ἐπαρχίαν Α ι γ υ π τ ο υ. Τῆς φήμης διαγνωθείσης³, οἱ ἅγιοι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους διελέγοντο. Τότε ὁ ἅγιος Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ τῆς
ἀγίας Βασίλισσης τοιαύτην ἱκεσίαν ἐξέχεον πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ
θεοῦ ἡσυχία καὶ δείσει πρὸς ἐκείνους· « Δέσποτα, ὃς εἰ τῶν

⁹ τοῦ μη add. s. l. V, τοῦ add. B. — ¹⁰ quae sequuntur om. B; cf. § 15, annot. 2. — ¹¹ ὅτι add. s. l. V. — ¹² (Teneā - ē.) om. V, supplevi ex H (cf. Lal.). — ¹³ μετόικουν a. c. V. — ¹⁴ πάντες δι' αὐτῶν c. s. l. V. — ¹⁵ ὑπαύσματος c. s. l. V. — ¹⁶ ἐλευθερώσασα c. s. l. V.
11. — ¹ εἰσεκά... (?) c. marg. V. — ² οὗ c. s. l. V. — ³ γνωσθείσης a. c. V.

(21) Cf. Luc. 18, 29.
(23) Cf. Luc. 9, 62.

(22) Cf. Matth. 7, 14.
(24) Cf. Eccles. 1, 4.

κρυπτῶν γνώστης (25) καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν μέγας, ὁ ἐρευνήτης καρδίας καὶ νεφρῶν (26), σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, ὡς⁴ ἡμᾶς γαλήνῳ φωτίσης πρὸς ὧν καὶ εὐήκοον παράσχῃς ἀκοήν· οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἑστέας οὐδὲ νυστάζεις (27), φυλάττων ἐν ἐκατέῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς σωρησύνῃς, ἐν ᾧ σὺ αὐτὸς, Χριστέ, χάλειν γινώσκῃ⁵. Μὴ οὖν συγχωρήσης τῆς σῆς ἀγέλης τὴν ἀκεραϊότητα φθαρηῖναι· μὴδὲ σχῇ ἐξουσίαν ὁ ἀκόρεστος λύκος καὶ αἰεὶ δυσμενής, ἐν μηδενὶ σχῇ ἄδειαν⁶ πρὸς τὸ διαλῦσαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τῆς πίστεως, δπερ εἰς τοὺς δούλους σου καὶ τὰς δούλας δι' ἡμῶν τῶν σῶν δούλων παρέςσχεις. Θηρόντισον, Χριστέ, καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκείνων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πλέον ἡ σὴ δεξιὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀνορθοῦν λοχύει ἤπερ ἡ δυναστεία τοῦ διώκοντος πρὸς τὸ καταβαλεῖν⁷. Ἰνῶθι καὶ ἐγεύησον τὰς ἐκάστων δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς σῆς προγνώσεως δῶρον πάντας εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν χορὸν εισάγαγε τῶν ζώωντων, ὅπου οὐδεμία ὑπόνοια οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ τελευτᾶν, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύει⁸ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ ἐλευσίη μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς παράσχῃς, δέσποτα, ἵνα πάντες οἱ δοῦλοί σου καὶ αἱ δοῦλαί σου οὐδὲ δι' ἡμῶν σοὶ σταταεύσασθαι ἐπιήσας ἀκέρατοι ἐκότεροι ἐνώπιόν σου στῶσιν, ἵνα χάλοντες εἴπωμεν· Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ παῖδες οὗς δέδωκας ἡμῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο (28).⁹

12. Basilisse est réconfortée en songe par une vision du Seigneur.

Καὶ ὅτε τὸ τέλος τῆς εὐχῆς ἀνεπαλήθουν, ἀπήρχοντο εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους. Καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, ἡσύχου τῆς νυκτὸς γενομένης, παραγίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν Βασίλισσαν προσφθεγγόμενος ὁ κύριος κατ' ὄναρ· « Βασίλισσα, τοῦ σου δνόματος ἀξία, ἀτινα ἡῦξω πλήρωσαί σε προεβέβη, ἵνα πάντα τὰ σκεύη ἀ ἐμαντῷ διὰ σου ἐκαθάρισσα, σὺ ζῶσα προπέμψῃς εἰς τὰ οὐράνια βασίλεια· καὶ ἐξείς τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ καιροῦ διάστημα, ἐν ᾧ δυναθῇς ἐκ παντὸς τόπου ὅπου ἔσπεις τὸν σῖτόν σου συναγαγεῖν καὶ ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὸ θέρος τοῦ σου καμάρου. Καὶ οὕτως καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπακολουθήσεις, τὰς κλεῖς

⁴ ὅστις c. V. — ⁵ γινώσκεις c. V. — ⁶ σχῇ ἄ. del. V (cf. Lal. licentiam habent). — ⁷ καταβαλεῖν V. — ⁸ βασιλεύει c. s. l. V; βασιλεύει ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἀληθῶς μακαριότης H (cf. Lal. regnat vera beallitudo vivendi).

(25) Dan. Sus. 42.
(27) Cf. Ps. 120, 3.

(26) Cf. Apoc. 2, 23.
(28) Cf. Joh. 18, 9.

ἐξ ἧς καθ' ἡμέραν ὁσμη εὐωδίας ἀνέρχεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων.
Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὡς καλὸς ἀλλήτης μαχίσκεται καὶ νικήσει· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ποτε νικηθῆναι δύνησεται ἐν ᾧ βασιλεύει ἡ σωφροσύνη. Ἔσται
γὰρ μοι δι' αὐτοῦ πλήθους προποδίζομενον ψυχῶν· πολλὰ γὰρ
αὐτὸν δεῖ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου (29)· καὶ πολλὰς ἀρετὰς
καὶ σῆμεια δεῖξω ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ. Περὶν ἢ με ἐπικαλέ-
σεται, ἐρῶ· Ἰδοὺ πάρεμι.»

13. Elle exhorta ses consœurs.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ ἁγία Βασίλισσα ἀγρυπνοῦσα ἔχαιρεν ἐν τῷ
τοῦ δεσπότου προσώπῳ¹ χαρακτῆρι λαμπρῷ· ὡς γὰρ ἡλῖος ἦν
ἀπαστράπτων ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ διηγείται αὐτὰ κατὰ τάξιν
τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ. Καὶ συγκαλεσαμένη τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν παρθένων πλῆ-
θύν, ταύτη αὐταῖς προσηγγέγεται τῇ φωνῇ· « Ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι, ἡ
ἐμὴ χαρὰ καὶ ὁ στέφανος (30) τῆς κερφαλῆς μου, ἅγιοι παρθένοι,
τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδώσωμεν καὶ θυσίαν ἐπαίνου ἐν καρδίᾳ
συντετριμμένη καὶ τεταπεινωμένη² (31) προσενέγκωμεν, ἐπειδὴ
ἡξίωσεν ἀποκαλύψαι ἡμῖν τὰ μυστήρια τὰ ἀποκεκρυμμένα καὶ τὴν
οἰκὸν καὶ τὸν³ χρόνον ὥρισεν ἐν ᾧ καθαθεῖσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκείνῳ
σφραγισθῶμεν, ὑπερθέσεως παρὰχωρηθείσης ἵνα μία καὶ ἐκάστη
ἡμῶν κατανοοῦσα τὰ κρύφια τῆς ἰδίας καρδίας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι
ἐντετυθῇ ὁρθῶς⁴. Πρὸς αἰωνίαν οὖν ζωὴν μετοικήσωμεν, ἵνα
μηδὲν ἔργον ἴδιον ἐν ἡμῖν εὐργωσιν ἐκείναι αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ τὰς ψυχὰς
εἰς οὖρανόν βαδίζούσας ἐπέχουσιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐν ἡμῖν εὐρόντες οἱ
δαίμονες εὐλαβηθῶσιν ὁρώντες μεθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἁγίαν βοήθειαν
συνοδεύουσιν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς σωφροσύνης συγκαίῳν. Κατανοή-
σατε καὶ ἐρευνήσατε τὰ ἀπόρητα τοῦ στήθους⁵ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἐν ὁσῶ
καιρὸν ἔχομεν ἐκκλίνετε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐλαττώματος
ἀμαρτημάτων καθαριθεῖσαν⁶ ὕδατι καθαρῷ καὶ διὰ⁷ πρῶξιν⁸
ἀποκαταστῆσαι⁹ τῷ γενέτῃ θεῷ. Ταύτης γὰρ ἐπιτύχωμεν¹⁰ ἐκ

13. —¹ καὶ add. marg. V. —² αἰνέσεως add. del. V. —³ δοθέντα add. marg. V.
—⁴ (ξ. δ.) καλῶς ἐκείσε ἀπενεχθή(τω) c. V. —⁵ (τ. σ.) τῶν διανοιῶν c. V. —
⁶ καθαρίσαντες c. s. l. V. —⁷ s. l. V. —⁸ ἀγαθῶν add. s. l. V. —⁹ δοθέντες
κατ. c. marg. V. —¹⁰ ἐπιτύχοντες c. marg. V.

(29) Cf. Act. 9, 16.

(30) Cf. Phil. 4, 1.

(31) Cf. Ps. 50, 19.

τοῦ δεσπότου τῆς αἰτήσεως, ἵνα ἀπὸλίους πάντας προπέμψωμεν
ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ μνηστὴρ ὁ δεσπότης
Χριστὸς· δι' ὅπερ ὑμᾶς προπέμπομαι, ἅγιοι ἀδελφοί, ἵνα μὴ τις
ζύμη κακίας ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐμμένῃ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι δωρησθῶσι ἀλλήλαις
εἰς ἀμοιβήν¹¹· εἰ τι ἐπταίσατε εἰς ἀλλήλας, ἵνα τέλειον στέφανον
ἀκεραιότητος τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀναδέξησθε· καὶ ἐμέ
μητέρα ὑμῶν νικήτριαν ἀποδέξῃτε ἀκεραίου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῆς ὑμε-
τέρας σωτηρίας, τοῦτο εἰδυῖαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἡ παθεῖνία τῆς
σαρκὸς διπλοὶ οἰκεί ὀργῇ καρδίας.»

14. L'inscription sur une colonne lumineuse.

Basilisse maudit le diable et félicite les moniales.

Ταῦτα ἐπεξιούσης τῆς ἁγίας Βασίλισσης, ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν
συναγμέναι ἐσείσθῃ· καὶ ἐφάμην ἐν ὄψει αὐτῶν στῦλος φωτὸς ἐν
ἐαυτῷ ἔχων χρυσοῦν ἐπίγραμμα· καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ στύλου προ-
ῆλθεν μετὰ λαμπρότητος καὶ ὁσμῆς εὐωδίας· καὶ τὸ σῆμειον
τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐξέλαμπεν λέγον αὐτῇ· « Βασίλισσα, τοῦ ὀνόματός σου
ἀρχηγέ, ὅπερ γεγραμμένον ἰδῆς ἀνάγλωθι. » Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγράμματος
ἡ γραφὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν· « Τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἑσχατος (32)·
πᾶσαι αἱ παρθένοι ὧν σὺ γέγονας ἡγεμὼν σκευὴ καθαρά εἰσιν καὶ
εὐπρόσδεκτα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου· οὐδὲ γὰρ¹ ἐν ταύταις ἀδόκιμόν
τι² εὔρον, ἃς σὺ καθάρασει δικαιοσύνης καὶ πυρὶ δοκιμασίας ὡς χρυ-
σοῦν καθαρὸν παρέςχες. Ἐλθετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ὑμῖν εὐτρεπι-
σθέντα. » Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῆς ἀναγνωσκούσης, ἡ ὄρασις ἀπὸ
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφῆρέθη. Τότε πᾶσαι ὑψαλίστουσιν τῷ
δεσπότη, ὃς τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς οικίας θεότητος ἁγίας τὰς ψυχὰς
ἐδείκνυνεν. Ἡ δὲ μακαρία Βασίλισσα χαίρουσα εἶπεν· « Εὐχαρι-
στῶ σοι, δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὰς μάχας τὰς σωματικὰς ταύτας
ἐνίκησας. » Καὶ προσέθηκεν· « Καταφρονῶ σου, διάβολε, ὅστις
τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν τῶν σῶν τὸν καρπὸν ἀπώλεσας. Καταφρονῶ σου,
ἐργετῶν ἡθοιῇ, ὅστις³ τὰ σκευὴ τὰ τῷ θεῷ ἀφωρισμένα οὕτως
τέχναις ἀπεκήρυξας⁴. Καταφρονῶ σου, διδάσκαλε ψεύδους,

11 delete δωρήσῃσθε, add. hic συγχωρήσῃτε V.
14. —¹ οὐδὲ γὰρ c. V. —² s. l. V. —³ ἦτις a. c. V. —⁴ ἀπέκλεας (?) c. s. l.
V.

(32) Apoc. 2, 8.

ANAL. BOL. 98. — 17.

πεινῇ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐμοὶ πιστευθείσης οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν ὃς μετὰ
 σοῦ ἀπολείπεται.⁵ Καταφρονῶ σοῦ, μέθυσα, ὅτι νήφοντα στηθήσῃς ὁὐκ
 ἠδυνήθης νικῆσαι. Καταφρονῶ σοῦ, ἐξαστὰ τοῦ κόσμου, ὅστις τὰς
 ἀδύτῳ⁶ ἐπιτεταμένους ψυχὰς πρὸς τὸν σὸν πόθον ἀνακαλέσασθαι
 οὐκ ἴσχυσας (32*). Καταφρονῶ σοῦ, διάβολε, ὅτι τοὺς τὸ τέλος
 ζητοῦντας οὐτὶς τέλχαις καὶ μηχαναῖς ἢ βρόχοις κρατῆσαι
 ἴσχυσας· σὺ μόνος τῇ σῇ συγκύσει κέχρησο, σὺ μόνος τῇ σῇ τιμωρίᾳ
 καί γε. Ὁρᾷς γὰρ τὴν ἄγρην, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἀπαγαγεῖσθαι, τὰ
 βασίλεια τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνιέναι [τοῖς ἀνθρώποις] ὅθεν σὺ ἔπρεσες.
 Λαίετε μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἀδελφαί, ἐπειδὴ βασιλεύουσιν ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ
 σημεῖα τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἡ καταφρόνησις τοῦ κόσμου τὴν τῶν οὐ-
 ρανῶν ἐδέξατο βασίλειαν, ἡ τῶν γονέων ἀπαγόρευσις συγ-
 κληρώσιν ἤνεγκεν ἀγγέλων· ἡ εὐτέλεια ὤσει κέδρος ἡ ἐν τῷ
 Α β δ ν ρ ἐστὶν καὶ ὡς κυπάριστος ἐν ὄρεσιν· Α ε ρ μ ὦ ν (33).
 ἡττηθείσης τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡ σωφροσύνη πληθύνεται. Οὐδεμία γὰρ
 ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τόλμα, ἵνα τὰς πρὸς τὸν γενέτην
 βαδίζούσας ψυχὰς κρατήσουσιν. Πάντες αἰσχύνονται, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν
 ἴδιον ἐν ἡμῖν γινώσκουσιν.»

15. Mort des religieuses, puis de Basilisse.

Ταῦτα μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγουσα, ἤρξατο ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ δεσποτική τὴν
 δόξαν τῆς δικαισύνης ἀκμάσασαν ἀσφαλίζεισθαι. Καὶ οὕτως ἡ
 θεία προνοία ἐπληρώθη ὥστε ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐπηγγελμένου καιροῦ πᾶσας
 μετοικῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τὴν δὲ ἀγίαν Βασίλισσαν ἀμέριμον περὶ
 τῆς παρακαθήκης τῶν καρτῶν γενέσθαι. Ὡρᾶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκτη ἐν
 προσευχῇ ἐστῶσαν χάρισις ἔλαβεν· καὶ ὁρᾷ πάντα τὸν χορὸν τῶν
 ἀγίων παρθένων ἀριθμῶ ὡσεὶ χιλίων λαμπρὰς ἐνδεδυμένας στολὰς
 καὶ βασιλικαῖς ζώναις¹ ἡμφιεσμένας, τὸν βασιλικὸν σταυρὸν
 βασταζούσας, μιᾶ φωνῇ τῇ μακαρίᾳ Βασίλισσῃ λεγούσας· «Ταύτην
 τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐδέξάμεθα ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ τὸν δεσπότην καὶ βασιλέα
 προσκυνήσωμεν. Ἰδοὺ περιμένονμέν σε, ἵνα σὺ ἡμᾶς προσοίσης τῷ
 Χριστῷ, ᾧ ἡμᾶς προσεπορίσω².» Ἐγερθείσα δὲ ἡ μακαρία
 Βασίλισσα³ ἐπὶ τῇ προορηθείσῃ⁴ αὐτῇ δόξῃ ἔχαιρεν, ταῦτα μετὰ

⁵ ἀπόκληται V. — ⁶ συνόλας c. s. l. V.

15. — ¹ βασιλικὰς ζώνας c. s. l. V. — ² hinc iterum adest B. — ³ om. B. —
⁴ προοιθείσῃ B.

(32*) Cl. Luc. 9, 62.

(33) Cl. Sirac. 24, 13.

χαρᾶς ἀναγγέλλουσα τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλιανθω-
 πία οὕτως ἐπληρώθη ὥστε, ἐστῶτων αὐτῶν ἐν προσευχῇ, τὴν ἀγίαν
 Βασίλισσαν μετοικῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν· ἦν ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς
 παρόντων ἀξίᾳ ταφῇ, ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνίας πνευμα-
 τικὰς εἰς μνήμην αὐτῆς ἀναφέρων.

16. Vie exemplaire des moines.

Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀγίων ἔβαλεν¹. ὧ² χάρις παραχω-
 ρηθείσα³ ὥστε μὴ εἶναι⁴ κατώτερον τὸν μὴ⁵ νικῶντα⁶ τὸν ἔτερον
 ἐν ἀρεταῖς. Πολλὰ γὰρ σημεῖα λάσεων δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ
 μαθητῶν εἰργάσατο. Οὐδένα ἐκεῖ εὗρεν ὁ ἥλιος ὀργιζόμενον⁷
 (34) οὐδὲ κατέλιπεν. Εἰ δέ τις, ὡς εἰώθειν, τινὶ ἐν λόγῳ ὑπερή-
 φανος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τροφὴν, ταπεινώσει καὶ ὁδοιπορί-
 ος προσκατεργῶν, ἕως οὗ ἀγάπην ἀπέδωκεν. Ταύτη τῇ σπουδῇ
 ἔκαμνον ὥστε τὸν⁸ τῶν προσευχῶν καρπὸν θυσίαν ἐπαίνου τῷ θεῷ
 προσφέρειν. Ἐχαιρεν ὁ πατήρ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ σπουδῇ τῶν τέκνων.
 Τότε εἰς ἕκαστος ἔλεγεν· «Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγίᾳ συναγωγῇ οὐδέποτε
 ἐδυνήθη⁹ ὁ διάβολος σαγηνεῦσθαι.» Ταῦτα ἐπράττετο ἐν πόλει
 Ἀντινώ¹⁰, ἥτις ἐστὶν μητροπόλις Α λ γ υ π τ ο υ¹¹.

Ἀ θ λ η σ ι ς τ ο υ ἁ γ ί ο υ μ ἄ ρ τ υ ρ ο ς Ἰ ο υ λ ι α ν ο υ¹.

17. Le gouverneur fait arrêter Julien.

Βία διωγμοῦ ἐπεκράτησιν². Καὶ ἐρχομένου Μαρκιαν³
 ἀρχοντος ἐν⁴ πόλει Ἀ ν τ ι ν ὁ ο υ τῆς Α λ γ υ π τ ο υ⁴, μανία
 λεγούσῃς ἐξήπτετο, ὥστε μὴ ἀγρὸν μὴ χωρὶον μένειν ὅπου μὴ
 εἶδωλον⁵ ἴσταιτο, ὥστε⁶ τοὺς βουλομένους ἡ ὠνεῖσθαι ἢ πωλεῖν

16. — ¹ συνῆν c. marg. V. — ² καὶ τοσαύτη c. marg. V. — ³ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς
 c. s. l. V. — ⁴ τινα add. s. l. V. — ⁵ (τὸν μὴ) ἀλλὰ c. s. l. V. — ⁶ μάλλον add.
 s. l. V. — ⁷ ἐργαζόμενον V. — ⁸ s. l. V. — ⁹ δυνήθη V. — ¹⁰ ἡ α. H.; Ἀντιοχείᾳ
 VB. — ¹¹ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων add. B. Hic destinunt B et H.
 17. — ¹ hic incipit D sub hoc lemmate: μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ
 τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τελειωθέντων. — ² ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις add. D. — ³ τῇ add.
 D. — ⁴ (Ἀ. τ. Α.) Ἀντιοχείᾳ V. — ⁵ (μὴ ε.) ε. οὐχ D. — ⁶ καὶ γὰρ D.

(34) Cl. Eph. 4, 26.

πρωτον τοις ειδώλοις ἐπιθύειν. Ἦνα γὰρ ἐκαστος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ εἰκόνα τῷ Διὶ ἀνιστάσιν¹. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Νικανὼς μετὰ τῆς γαμετῆς καὶ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ ἦν ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἀπωλείας. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἄρχων τὴν Ἰουλιανὴν πίστιν καὶ ὅσους εἶχεν μεθ' αὐτοῦ² ἐτέρευς οἵτινες αὐτοῦς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ θῆναι τοῖς ειδώλοις ἡτοιμάζοντο³ πρὸς θάνατον, ὀργισθεὶς συγκαλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ σύμπαντον, κελεύων αὐτῷ⁴ συντυχεῖν τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ, ἵνα μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἰδίων κατὰ τὰς κελεύσεις τῶν καλλιπικῶν⁵ βασιλέων τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθύσῃ, ὅπως μὴ μετὰ τῶν καταργουμένων τὰς ἐναντίας ὑπομείνῃ τιμωρίας. Ὁ δὲ σύμπαντος ἄμα μετὰ τοῦ κουρηνκουλαγίου καὶ τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν ὅσον ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄρχιος Ἰουλιανὸς τῷ θεῷ ἐσχόλαζεν, ὅπου πλῆθι πολλὰ λεγέων καὶ λευτέρων καὶ πάντων ὑπηγετων⁶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέφυγον φεύγοντες τὴν λύσσαν⁷ τοῦ διωγμοῦ. Ἀγγέλλεται⁸ τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ τὸν σύμπαντον τοῦ ἄρχοντος μετὰ τοῦ κορηνκουλαγίου⁹ καὶ τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῶν θυγῶν εἶναι¹⁰. Τότε ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς ἔφη πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν συνέλευσιν· «Νῦν, ἀδελφοί, εὐξώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ ἡγγίκασιν¹¹ οἱ διώκοντες καὶ ἡμᾶς ζητοῦσιν ὥς ὅδε καταπαύειν. Ἰδωμεν ποίαν ἡμῖν ἀπόκλισιν διδοῦσιν¹².» Τότε ὁ ἄρχιος Ἰουλιανὸς τῇ σφραγίδι δαλίας¹³ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τῇ τῆς πίστεως ἀσπίδι τὸ στῆθος ὀχυρώσας κελεύει τοὺς εἰσελθεῖν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦν πρωτεύοντος τῆς πόλεως υἱός¹⁴, κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῷ παγείχεται τιμὴν ἐκ τῆς οικείας τάξεως.

18. L'assesseur interroge Julien.

Τότε ὁ σύμπαντος τοῦ ἄρχοντος οὕτως ῥηξάτο¹. «Νομίζω μὴ λαμβάνειν σε, Ἰουλιανέ, τῶν λεγωμάτων βασιλέων τὰς κελεύσεις, αἷς οἱ τοῦ κόσμου συνέχονται, ὥστε μίαν εἶναι παρὰ πάντων τοῖς² ἀνθρώποις τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης μου ὁ ἄρχων Νικανὼς, ἀκούων τὰ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σῆς καὶ τὴν τιμίαν τῶν προγόνων σου εἶζαν καὶ τὸ τίμιόν σου³ γένος,

¹ (ἡ. ἡ. π.) ἡγάγκαζον D. — ² ἀναστήσῃ D. — ³ μετ' αὐτοῦ D. — ⁴ ἡτοίμαζον D. — ⁵ αὐτοῦ D. — ⁶ om. D. — ⁷ (καὶ π. ὅ.) ὅ. π. D. — ⁸ λήπην D. — ⁹ ἀναγγ. δὲ D. — ¹⁰ κουρην. D. — ¹¹ ἐστάναι D. — ¹² ἡγγίκασιν D. — ¹³ (ἡ. δ.) δ. ἡ. δίδωσιν D. — ¹⁴ καθολ. D. — ¹⁵ ὁ ἄρχιος add. D.

18. — ¹ (ο. ἡ.) ἡ. λέγειν ο. D. — ² om. D. — ³ καὶ εὐκλείες D.

τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν οικίαν φρόνησιν ἐψηφίσατο ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἡσύχως καὶ μετὰ χάριτος μεθοδευθῇ. ὅπερ διάταγμα τῶν βασιλέων ἐν χειρὶν ἔχω⁴ ὥστε σοι ἀναγνώσκειν ἐκ τῶν σωτηριωδῶν⁵ διαταγμάτων· οὐ γὰρ ἀναγνωσθέντος, ἀποδώσεις αὐτὸν⁶ τῷ γένει τῷ σῷ, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν χεῖρσι καὶ εὐχαρίων καὶ φιλικῇ βασιλικῇ ἀξιοθῇ⁷.» Ὁ τινὶς μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς οὕτως ἀποκρίνεται⁸. «Ὁ νόμίζω λαμβάνειν τὴν σὴν σοφίαν ὅτι ὅπως οὐ κινεῖται ἐκ τοῦ οικείου φωλεοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ ἐπιδόντος⁹ ὁ ἀληθεὶς γινώσκειται ἐπὶ πόδας. Ὅσοι γὰρ οὐκ ἰσχύει οὐδὲ ὀφείλει οὐδὲ δύναται κινήσας ἐξαπτεῖν ὁ ἐπὶ πόδας ἀγνοῶν, οὕτως οὐδὲ δόγματα¹⁰ βασιλέων οὔτε φιλοσοφία ἥτις¹¹ πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν¹² δυνήσεται τὰς τῷ Χριστῷ δουλευσούσας¹³ κατὰ πρὸς δαιμόνων ἐλπίσας λατρεῖαν.» Ὁ σύμπαντος εἶπεν· «Καταργομεῖς τοῖνυν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἀνάξιον νομίζεις τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀκούσας κελεύσεων;» Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· «Ἀκούσας τὰς τῶν βασιλέων κελεύσεις οἱ ὅτι αὐτῷ¹⁴ σφραγευόμενοι. Ἡμεῖς δέ, οἱ βασιλέα Χριστὸν ἔχοντες ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἐπιτελείου βασιλεύς οὐκ ἀκούομεν.» Ὁ σύμπαντος εἶπεν· «Καὶ τοῦτο λέγεις ἐπὶ πράξεως¹⁵;» Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· «Τοῦ πλήθους τούτου ἡ ζωὴ ἅμα μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡγετηται κρίσεως. Ὅποιον γὰρ ὁρᾷς ἐμὲ¹⁶ λαλοῦντα, τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν πάντες¹⁷ σιωπῶντες. Εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν δεσπότης ὃν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὅστις ἐστὶν Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (35).» Ὁ σύμπαντος εἶπεν· «Καὶ ταῦτα ἀ λέγεις ἀπαγγελῶ τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ ἄρχοντι.» Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· «Ὅπερ ἀληθὲς ἐπ' ἐγὼ¹⁸ κρύψαι οὐκ ὀφείλεις. Ἡμεῖς ἔτι μοι ἐσμεν¹⁹ τὸν πρόσκαιρον θάνατον ἀναδέξασθαι²⁰ ἵνα αἰωνίως ζήσωμεν· οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ζῆν πρόσκαιρος, ἵνα μὴ αἰωνίᾳ κολάσῃ δουλωθῶμεν.» Ὁ σύμπαντος εἶπεν· «Ἀκούω ὅτι καὶ ἐπισκόπους²¹ καὶ πάντα τὸν κληρὸν συνημμένους²² ἔχεις μετὰ σοῦ. Μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ μαθηταὶ σου ἐγένοντο;» Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· «Μαθηταὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ πατέρες· δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ τὴν ἀληθινὴν γένναν²³ ἐδεξάμεθα· δι' ὅπερ πάντες ἀξιοῦν ἐστὶν ἵνα τὰ²⁴ τέκνα μετὰ τῶν πατέρων καὶ οἱ πατέρες μετὰ τῶν τέκνων βαδίζουσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν.»

⁴ ἔχω V. — ⁵ σωτηρίων D. — ⁶ ὅπερ D. — ⁷ αὐτὸ D. — ⁸ (β. δ.) ἀξιοθῇ β. D. — ⁹ ἀπεκρίνατο D. — ¹⁰ εἰ add. D. — ¹¹ (οὐδὲ δ.) δὲ δόγμα τῶν D. — ¹² τις D. — ¹³ om. D. — ¹⁴ δουλεύοντας D. — ¹⁵ αὐτοῦ D. — ¹⁶ πράξεως D. — ¹⁷ (δ. ἐ.) ἐ. δ. D. — ¹⁸ οἱ add. D. — ¹⁹ ἐγὼ D. — ²⁰ (ἡ. ἐ. ἐ.) ἡ. γὰρ ἐ. οἱ D. — ²¹ βουλόμενοι add. D. — ²² ἐπισκοπείς D. — ²³ συνημμένους D. — ²⁴ ἀναγέννησιν D. — ²⁵ om. D.

19. La foule des moines est livrée au feu.

Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὁ σύμποιος πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸ ν πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ παραθέοντα ἐνεφάνισεν. Ὁ δὲ ἰ ἄρχων, τῇ βουλῇ ὁπλισθεὶς τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐκέλευσεν ἵνα Ἰουλιανὸν μόνον τῇ οὐκ εὐφροσύνῃ ἀκροάσει. Τῷ δὲ πλῆθει τῶν υἱῶν πολλὸ πῦρ περιτεθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ διήγον³ ταῖς πρὸς⁴ θεὸν εὐχαριστίας σχολάζοντες⁵. Ἐξηγούσθῃ δὲ ἡ κέλεις τοῦ ἄρχοντος⁶ καὶ πάντες ἐκεῖ τῷ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσαν. Ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τοιαύτη χάρις ἐγένετο καὶ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἅπανσι τοῖς παραρχομένοις φαίνεται, < ὥστε > κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ὠρισμένον τοῦ ψάλλειν τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἑκτὴν καὶ ἑνάτην καὶ⁷ ἑσπέρῃ καὶ⁸ νυκτὶ καὶ ὄρθρου ἀκούουσιν⁹ ψάλλοντες πλῆθους. Καὶ ἔάν τις κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους παραγένηται⁹ οἰαδήποτε νόσῳ κατὰ φύσιν ἀναχωρεῖ.

20. Le gouverneur Marcien interroge l'accusé.

Ἠγγέλθη δὲ τῷ Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ῳ περιηρωσθαι τὴν κέλεις αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν μακάριον ἐν φυλακῇ διάγειν. Τότε ἐξήφθη ὁ ἐχθρὸς¹ καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ βῆμα αὐτῷ εὐεργεσιθῆναι κελύει ἐν τῷ φόρῳ. Ἡ δὲ κέλεις τοῦ ἄρχοντος εὐθέως ἐπληρώθη. Καὶ συντρέχει πανταχόθεν πᾶσα ἡλικία καὶ πᾶσα φύσις¹, ἵνα τὸν μακάριον Ἰουλιανὸν ὃν ἡγάπων ἴδωσιν μετὰ τοῦ διαβόλου μαχόμενον. Τότε ὁ ἄρχων ὑπὲρ ἐκείνη τῇ φωνῇ τῇ φρικτῇ² κελύει τὸν ἄγιον Ἰουλιανὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ στῆναι. Οὐ ἀγομένου ἀπειρίας³ ὁ ἄρχων Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸς εἶπεν· « Σὺ εἰ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ τῶν παραρχομένων⁴ τῶν δεσποτικῶν⁵ καταργητῆς καὶ τῶν σεβασμίων⁶ θεῶν; Σὺ εἰδῶς⁷ ἀνατῶν πλῆθι μαγικαῖς τέχναις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν⁸ συναθροίσας καὶ τὰς πάντων ἐναλλάτεις διανοίας; » Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς ἠσυχάζει. Πρὸς ὃν⁹ ὁ Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸς εἶπεν· « Ὡς ὁρῶ, τῇ καταδίκῃ τῇ σὴ συσχεθεὶς οὐδὲν πρὸς

19. —¹ (ὁ δὲ) τότε ὁ D. —² φυλάξωσιν D. —³ διάγοντες D. —⁴ τὸν add. D. —⁵ ἐσχολάζειν D. —⁶ ἐν add. D. —⁷ ἐν add. D. —⁸ ἀκούουσιν V. —⁹ παραγίνεται D.

20. —¹ κ. τ. φ. om. D. —² (ὕπ' - φρ.) om. D. —³ (Οὐ δ. δ.) Ἀγ. δὲ αὐτοῦ dr. αὐτῷ D. —⁴ παραρχομένων D. —⁵ δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν D. —⁶ κ. τ. σ. om. D. —⁷ δὲ D. —⁸ (πρ. ἐ.) ἐν αὐτῷ D. —⁹ πάλιν add. D.

τὰ ἐρωτώμενα αποκρίνη. » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Εἰς αὐτοῦ οὐ¹⁰ γέγονα τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ τὰ βασιλικά τῆς γῆς¹¹ ἐντάλματα συνέχεται, ἀλλ' ὑπήκοος. Καὶ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ σιωπῶντά με θανμάεις¹², μετὰ σοῦ λαλεῖν συγχέομαι¹³, ὃν ὁρῶ¹⁴ τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἀνάτης συμπεφυγμένον. Τῶν γάρ¹⁵ βασιλέων πῶς ἱερὸς δύναται¹⁶ εἶναι νόμος¹⁷, οὔτενος ἱεροσύλιαν ἐργάζονται; » Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸς εἶπεν· « Λυποῦμαι περὶ σοῦ ὅτι οὕτως¹⁸ μαγικαῖς κεκατῆρσαι τέχναις¹⁹, ὥστε μὴ νοεῖν πόσῃ δυνάμει ἔχουσιν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων κελύσματα, οἷς ὁ πειθαρχῶν ἐπαινεῖται καὶ τῆς τῶν βασιλέων ἀξιοῦται φιλίας²⁰. ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθαρχῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ φαίνη, τιμωρίᾳ ὑπόκειται καὶ θανάτου κληρονόμος γίνετα²¹. Καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω σε οὕτως²² λαμπρὸν²³ εἶναι ὥστε διὰ τὸ²⁴ πείδεσθαί σου τῆς εὐγενείας τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναβάλλομαι. Δι' ὅπερ προτρέπομαι σε ὥς υἱὸν μου ἵνα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ σοῦ γένους τοῖς θεοῖς λίβανον προσφέρῃς ἱλαρῶς σπένδῃς²⁵. »

21. Suite de l'interrogatoire.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας¹ ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν τῷ ἄρχοντι· « Τῇ κακίᾳ τῇ σῇ τυφλωθεὶς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ γένους μου γνῶναι οὐκ ἐπίστασαι. Σὺ ἐμοὶ² συμβουλεύεις ἵνα τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς θρησκεύετε λιβάνας³ προσοίσω, ὅπως φιλίαν καὶ δόξαν βασιλέως⁴ κτήσομαι. Ὑμεῖς φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς θεοὺς καὶ θεὰς σέβειν⁵. ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τριῶν⁶ ὁμοουσίου ἀληθεῖς θρησκευταὶ δεικνύμεθα· οἱ ὑμέτεροι θεοὶ λίβανολοῖσιν ἢ χαλκοῖ· εἰ δὲ χαλκοῖ εἰσιν, πολλῷ κρείττονα τὰ σκεύη τὰ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετάλλου γινόμενα· εἰ δὲ καὶ⁷ λίθινολοῖσιν, ἀποβλητέοι⁸ εἰσὶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν στρώματα⁹ αἰ πλάττειται πρὸς τὸ ἐκκλίνειν τὸν ὄντο¹⁰. Καὶ ἂν¹¹ οὐδὲν ποτε μετάλλου¹² σφυγέμενον ἢ γυμνόμενον τοὺς ὑμέτερους θεοὺς¹³ ἐξελεῦσθε λιβάνα, νομίζοντες¹⁴ ὅπως ἴλεοι¹⁵ γένωνται¹⁶.

¹⁰ οὐδέποτε D. —¹¹ ζῶης D. —¹² σκόπησον ὅτι add. D. —¹³ scripsi (cf. Lat. confunder); σηκύνεσθαι V, οὐκ ἀνέχομαι D. —¹⁴ (ὃν δ.) ὅτι δ. σε D. —¹⁵ (τ. γ.) τοῦτων γ. τ. D. —¹⁶ (l. δ.) δ. l. D. —¹⁷ δωματίους D. —¹⁸ ταῖς D. —¹⁹ (κ. τ.) τ. κ. D. —²⁰ καὶ θ. κ. γ. om. D. —²¹ ἐξούτως V. —²² λαμπρὸς V, λαμπροῦ γένους D. —²³ δ. τ. om. V. —²⁴ (l. στ.) στ. l. D.

21. —¹ ἀκούων D. —² (σὺ ἐ.) καὶ πῶς σὺ μοι D. —³ λίβανον D. —⁴ βασιλέων D. —⁵ om. D. —⁶ ἀπόβλητοί D. —⁷ τοὺς βαδίζοντας add. D. —⁸ εἰσὶν ἀνάγκη add. D. —⁹ εἶναι καὶ πῶς add. D. —¹⁰ νομίζετε D. —¹¹ ὑμῶν add. D. —¹² τοὺς ἐκ τέχνης ἀνθρώπων τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντας add. D.

Ἡμεῖς ¹³ δὲ οἵτινες ἕνα θεὸν σέβομεν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ¹⁴, μαγικαῖς τέχναις λέγετε κατελιγμένους· δι' ὃ ¹⁵ βασανίζεσθαι ἡμᾶς κελεύετε, τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ὁμολογούντας. Ὅφρ' εἴητε ¹⁶ εἰδέναι, ὅτε ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι ὡς περ οὐκ ἔστιν κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος (36) οὕτε ἀσφαλῆς οἰκησις ἀμυνῶ ¹⁷ μετὰ λύκου, οὕτως οὐ δύναται ἡ πίστις ἡ ἡμετέρα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑποκείσθαι προστάξει ¹⁸. » *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* εἶπεν· « Ἄκουσον τί κελεύουσιν οἱ καλλίνικοι βασιλεῖς, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν γνώσῃ τί σε πράττειν προσήκει. »

22. Item.

Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Τί κελεύουσιν ἥκουσα. Τί δέ με ποιεῖν χρὴ ¹ σωτηριώδει βουλῇ ² ἐπιλήρωσα. Αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν, τῆς ἀγέλης προσεμφθείης, τὸν ποιμένα μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν. » *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* εἶπεν· « Ἐκείνοι διὰ τὴν πλάνην τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄξιον ἠέδραντο ³ θάνατον. Σὺ δέ, ἵνα ἐκκλίνης τὰς βασάνους τὰς τοῖς καταφρονηταῖς ἡτοιμασμένας, ὅπως καὶ τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου ⁴ ἱκανὸν ποιήσῃς, θύσον τοῖς θεοῖς ⁵. » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Κάμε ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν, οὐδ' ἀνάβολος ⁶ κατέστησεν κληρονόμους. Ἐμοῦ γάρ ἐκεῖνος φροντίζει ⁷ ὃ ἐκ γῆς διατυπώσας ⁸. » *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* εἶπεν· « Οὕτως δρῶ ⁹ μετὰ σοῦ πράξαι ¹⁰ ὥς μετὰ καρδιοπλήκτου ἀσθενοῦς ἱατροῦ ¹¹, ἕως οὗ ὑγίαιεν λάβης. Εἰ δέ ¹² σε σῶν ἀποκαστήσω, μερίστη μοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ¹³ γενήσεται τιμὴ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δεσπότες τῶν πραγμάτων πολὺ τῇ σῇ μανίᾳ συναλγοῦσιν. » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Οὐδέποτε ἠκούσθη ὅτι τυφλὸς φωτίζει ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὁ ¹⁴ νοσῶν φροντίζει ὑγιαίνοντος καὶ ὁ πλανώμενος τὸν ὀρθῶς βαδίζοντα ὁδηγεῖ. » *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* εἶπεν· « Ὡς λέγεις τοίνυν, τυφλὸς εἰμι καὶ νοσῶν καὶ πλανώμενος, ὃ σπεύδων τῆς σῆς προνοεῖσθαι σωτηρίας· καὶ σὺ μόνος ἀσφαλεστάτην ἔχεις ὑγίαιαν; » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Ταῦτα πάντα ἔχει εἰς σέ

¹³ ἡμᾶς D. — ¹⁴ ἐν τ. οὐρ. σέβ. D. — ¹⁵ (κατ. δι' ὃ) τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν καὶ D. — ¹⁶ ὅθεν praemittit D. — ¹⁷ ἀγνώ D. — ¹⁸ hic τῇ ὑμ. habet D.
22. — ¹ (π. χ.) χ. π. D. — ² σωτηριώδη βουλῇ D. — ³ εὐχον D. — ⁴ τὸ add. D. — ⁵ θ. τ. θ. om. D. — ⁶ ἑαυτῷ add. D. — ⁷ μεριμνῶ D. — ⁸ διαπλάσας D. — ⁹ ὡφείλον D. — ¹⁰ διαγενέσθαι D. — ¹¹ συνετός add. D. — ¹² γὰρ D. — ¹³ τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν D. — ¹⁴ om. D.

ἐφουσίαν· εἰ δὲ θελήσῃς αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώναι, οὐκ ἀποφεύγει σε ὁ ἱατρός ὃ ἡμέτερος ¹⁵, δι' οὗ πάντες οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἔχουσιν ὑγίαιαν. Τοὺς δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν θηρασκυομένους δαίμονας εἶναι φανερὸν ἐστίν, οἵτινες ¹⁶ ἀπολέσθαι δύνανται τοὺς ¹⁷ αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντας ¹⁸, ἐλευθερωσάι ¹⁹ δὲ οὐ δύνανται. »

23. Premières tortures. Un bourreau perd un œil.

Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* ἔβόα τοῖς δημίοις αὐτοῦ ¹. « Ἐκταθῆσεται ² εἰς μάστιγας, ἵνα κἄν οὕτως ἡ μωρία ³ αὐτοῦ φανερά γενήσεται ⁴. » Ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Οὐκ ἔστιν μωρία θεὸν γινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ δόξα. Σὺ δὲ τοῖς προσκαίτοις δειλασμοῖς συνεχόμενος ἀγνοεῖς τὸ συμφέρον. » *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* ἄρχων εἶπεν· « Ἐκτείνετε αὐτὸν καὶ ῥάβδους σκληρὰς καὶ δεσμὰ φέρετε καὶ πάντα τὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ διασπαράξατε. » Τοῦτων δὲ γινομένων, ἐκ τῶν τυπόντων εἰς, πληγὴν ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἀγίῳ ⁵, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπώλεσεν, ὅστις καὶ φίλος ἦν τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι γινώριμος. Ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* ἐπεβρυχήσατο λέγων· « Τοσοῦτον ἰσχυρεν ἡ μαγεία ἡ σὴ ὥστε σέ μηδεὶν αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ἐκβάλλειν ὀφθαλμούς; » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς*, ὀρθῶς ὅτι, ποῦτό ἐστιν ὅτε ἀνὴρ ⁷ ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυφλὸς καὶ νοσῶν καὶ πλανώμενος εἶ; Ὅμως, ἐαθείης τῆς χαλεπότητος ἧς κατ' ἐμοῦ πράξης ⁸, ἄκουσον ἀποτίθημί ⁹ σοι. » *Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς* εἶπεν· « Εἰ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας ἐστίν ¹⁰, ἀκούω ἡδέως ¹¹. » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Συγκάλεσον πάντας οὓς ἔχεις τῶν θεῶν τῶν σῶν ¹² δεδοκιμασμένους λεγεῖς· καὶ ἐπικαλέσονται τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐκσπασθέντος ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἵνα ἀποκαταστήσωσιν τῷ σέβοντι αὐτοῦς τὴν ὄρασιν. Εἰ δέ μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν, ἐγώ, τοῦ ὀνόματος ¹³ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου ἐπικληθέντος ¹⁴, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἐκβληθέντα ὀφθαλμὸν ἀποκαταστήσω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῆς καθόλας αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοὺς φωτίσω. »

¹⁵ (Ταῦτα - ἡμ.) Τῆς σῆς προνοήσεται σωτηρίας ὃ ἡμ. ἱατρός καὶ σωτήρ, εἰ θελ. αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπιστρέφαι πρὸς αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποφ. τοὺς προσερχομένους αὐτῷ D. — ¹⁶ (Τοὺς - οἱ.) Οἱ δὲ ὑφ' ὑ. θηρασκυόμενοι δαίμονες ὄντες D. — ¹⁷ τοῖς D. — ¹⁸ πιστεύουσιν D. — ¹⁹ σῶσαι D.

23. — ¹ (δ. α.) ἰδίους δ. D. — ² δημόσια ἐκταθῆτω D. — ³ τιμία sic D. — ⁴ (φ. γ.) πᾶσιν φανερώς γένηται D. — ⁵ τ. ἀ. om. D. — ⁶ οὐχ add. D. — ⁷ om. D. — ⁸ ἐνδείκνυσθαι D. — ⁹ προστ. D. — ¹⁰ ἀ μέλλεις λέγειν add. D. — ¹¹ ἡδ. ἀκούσω D. — ¹² τ. σ. om. D. — ¹³ τὸ ὄνομα D. — ¹⁴ ἐπικαλέσθαι καὶ D.

Τότε ὁ ἄρχων, πρὸς τὸν οὕτως ἀληθῆ λογισμὸν ἀπορήσας, ἐκέλευσεν πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς παραγενέσθαι· καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς· «¹... τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀθανάτους ὄψεσθε² ἱερουργικαῖς τιμαῖς, ἵνα τῷ ἀποστάτῃ³ αὐτῶν Ἰουλιανῷ δείξουσιν⁴ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετῆν, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀποδιδόντες τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅπως⁵ καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετῆν προσλάβοιεν⁶. » Ταῦτα⁷ ἀκούσαντες εἰσέλθονται οἱ λίθοι⁸ πρὸς τοὺς λίθινους⁹ τὰς τοῦ λίθου¹⁰ κελύσεις πληροῦντες· καὶ τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ θησκαίᾳ τοὺς δαίμονας ἐξευμένισαντο, ταύτην¹¹ δεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· «¹² Ἀναχωρήσατε ἀπ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς τῇ διηνεκεῖ καμίνῳ ἀφωρίσθημεν¹³. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἰσχύει¹⁴ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἡ Ἰουλιανοῦ παρακλήσις ὥστε, ἀπ' οὗ εἰς τὰς βασάνους συνεσχέθη, ἐσταπασίῳν ἐγένετο ἡμῶν ἡ κόλασις¹⁵. » Καὶ¹⁶ ταύτην λαβόντες τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐξέρχονται πλᾶστα ἐπαγγελλόμενοι¹⁶. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰουλιανός, ὃν οὐδὲν ἐλάνθανεν, προσευχὴν ποιήσας εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα· «¹⁷ Μὰ ῥε καὶ ἐγὼ, σπεῦσον ταχέως εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναόν· καλοῦσίν σε¹⁸ οἱ θεοί σου. » Καὶ εἰ καὶ μὴ προαιρέσει εἰσερχόμενος εἰς¹⁹ τὸν πυλῶνα τοῦ ναοῦ εἶδεν πάντα τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ κρυπτάλινα καὶ ἡλέκτρινα καὶ χρυσὰ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς μετάλλου γεργυμένα, πλέον ἡπερ ὄντα²⁰ πεντακόσια²⁰, οὕτως τεθρασυμένα καὶ εἰς κόνιν ἐπανεληθόντα ὡς μὴ φαίνεσθαι εἰ ἐγένοντό ποτε. Τότε ὁ Μὰ ῥε καὶ ἐγὼ, τυφλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, βοᾶν ἤρξατο²¹ καὶ λέγειν· «²² τὰς κακουργίας, ὡς²² οὕτως ἰσχύουσιν· ὃ ἀποδείξις ἐπωδῶν, πῶς²³ καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν νικῶσιν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολύτιμα ξόανα εἰς κόνιν περιέστησαν; Ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀνεξικακίαν θαυμάσαι, ἕως τοσοῦτου τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτοῖς ὕβρεις ἀνασχομένων ἕως οὗ²⁴ τὸν ἀποστάτην αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ταῦτα²⁵ ὑπομένειν ἑαυτοῖς²⁶ ὑποτάξοιεν²⁷, αὐτὸν δὲ ἰδῶμεν εἰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῆς ἑαυ-

24. —¹ litterae c. 10 erasae V; Lat. lte et; nullam D lacuna. —² sic V, θεγα-
πεύσατε D (honorate Lat.). —³ ἀνώματι D. —⁴ (I. δ.) δέξωσιν I. D. —
⁵ δὲ add. V. —⁶ (ἀ. π.) θησκαίαν προσλάβωται D. —⁷ τότε D. —⁸ λίθω-
δεις D. —⁹ θεοὺς αὐτῶν add. D. —¹⁰ σκληροκαρδίου ἀρχοντος D. —¹¹ παρ' αὐ-
τῶν add. D. —¹² (ὅτι - ἀφ.) om. D. —¹³ ἰσχύουσιν D. —¹⁴ ἐσταπασίον γενέσθαι
ἡμῶν τὴν κόλασιν D. —¹⁵ om. D. —¹⁶ ἀπαγγέλλοντες D. —¹⁷ om. D. —¹⁸ (Καί-
εἰς) εἰσερχ. δὲ ὁ ἀρχων D. —¹⁹ (πλ. ἡ. ὁ.) ὑπέρ τὰ D. —²⁰ Lat. quinqueaginta. —
²¹ (β. ἡ.) ἡ. β. D. —²² ita V (an pro ἀς?); om. D. —²³ ὡς D. —²⁴ ὅν D. —
²⁵ αὐτῷ D. —²⁶ scripsi, ἑαυτοῦς V, om. D. —²⁷ ὑποτάξωσιν D.

τοῦ²⁸ πλῆροί τὸ τέλειον καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τὸν τῇ πλῆρῃ τοῦ τύ-
πικτος ἀποσβεσθέντα μόνῃ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ οἰκίου θεοῦ δυνήσεται
ἀποκαταστῆσαι.»

25. Vain artifice du juge.

Ταῦτα δὲ¹ ἔφη πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἰουλιανόν· «² Τοὺς ἀνεξικά-
κους θεοὺς νενικηκέναι ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζεις³, ὡν τὴν περὶ σὲ εὐσέ-
βειαν οὐδαμῶς ἐπινυνώσκεις. Νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα⁴ πλῆρωσον,
ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃν σέβῃ, τὸν ἀποσβεσθέντα ἀποκα-
ταστήσῃς ὀφθαλμόν. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο μαγικαῖς τέχναις ποιή-
σῃς, οὐδὲν περιχυθῇναί⁵ σοι κελύω, δι' οὗ πᾶσαι σου αἱ κακουργίαι
φυγαδευθῶσιν. » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· «⁶ Τοῦτο δ' ποιήσεις⁷ οὐ πρὸς
ὑβριν ἐμὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ δεσπότη μου γενήσεται, ἵνα καὶ
τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ⁸ ὑγίει ἀποκαταστήσῃ καὶ τὸ ὄζον οὐχὸς⁹
εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδιστάτην μεταστρέψῃ. » Καὶ ἐν τῷ περιχέειν αὐτὸ
οὕτως ἐγένετο ὡς ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου προλεχθέν, ὥστε νομίζειν¹⁰
οὐχὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ βάλαμον περιχεθῆναι¹¹.

26. Guéri par Julien, le borgne se convertit; il est décapité.

Τότε ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανός, ἐπάνω τοῦ τυφλωθέντος ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸν
σταυρὸν τοῦ δεσπότη ποιῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπικαλούμενος,
εὐθὺς ἀπεκατέστησεν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὡς μηδὲν πεπονθότα. Ταῦτα¹
οὐ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρεταῖς ὁ ἀρχων ἀλλὰ μαγικαῖς τέχναις γεγενῆσθαι
ἐπίστευσεν. Ἐκείνος δὲ ὁ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπολαβὼν² ἐβόα· «³ Ἀλη-
θὴς θεὸς ὁ Χριστός· αὐτῷ μόνῳ δεῖ θησκαυέιν⁴. » Ὁν ταῦτα⁵
λέγοντα ὁ ἀρχων εὐθὺς ξίφει τυφθῆναι⁶ ἐκέλευσεν· ὃν οὐδεὶς ἡμφι-
σβήτησεν τῷ ἱερῷ αἵματι περιεχυμένον⁷ Χριστῷ καθιερωσθαι⁸
μάγισθα.

²⁸ (τ. ἐ.) αὐτοῦ D.

25. —¹ λογισάμενος add. D. —² (Τοὺς - θ.) Μὴ οἶον νενικ. τοὺς ἀνεξ. θ. D.
—³ σου add. D. —⁴ περιχεθ. D. —⁵ ποιείς D. —⁶ οἰκεία D. —⁷ sic V, οὐχὸν
D. —⁸ πάντας add. D. —⁹ αὐτῷ add. D.

26. —¹ δὲ πάλιν add. D. —² ἀναλαβὼν D. —³ προσκυνεῖν D. —⁴ τοιαῦτα
D. —⁵ τηγθῆναι D. —⁶ περιεχυμένον D. —⁷ καθιερωσθαι V.

27. Le fils du gouverneur se convertit.

Τὸν δὲ ἄγιον Ἰουλιανόν, διάφοροις τιμωρίαις βασανισθέντα καὶ σιδηροῖς δεσμοῖς κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη¹ φορτωθέντα, ὑπὸ τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ κήρυκος² περιέναι τὴν πόλιν ἐκέλευσε³ φάσκοντος⁴. « Τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καταφρονῆταί.⁵ Ἐλθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ὁ⁶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος υἱὸς ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἔφη τὸ παιδάριον πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους συμμαθητάς· « Πράγμα ὀρθῶ μηδέποτε ἀκουσθέν.⁷ Ἐξωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποῖον πράγμα, ἔφη· « Ἰδοὺ⁸ ὀρθῶ ἐκείνον τὸν χριστιανὸν δν ἄγουσιν, μετὰ πλήθους λευχημονούντων διαλεγόμενον καὶ στέφανον ἐκ λίθων τιμίων καὶ χρυσοῦ⁹ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τιθέμενον, οὗ ἡ λαμπρόδων τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦτο νικᾷ τὸ φῶς⁸, καὶ ἄλλους τρεῖς ἄνδρας⁹ ὡσεὶ χρυσοῦς ὡς ὁμοίωμα δέτων αὐτὸν περιέποντας¹⁰. Καὶ φαίνεται μοι τοῦτο ἄξιον τοῦ πιστεύειν τοιοῦτῳ θεῷ, ὅστις οὕτως τοὺς ἰδίους¹¹ φυλάττει καὶ τοιοῦτῳ κόσμῳ παραδίδωσιν. Καὶ γὰρ πιστεύετε μοι, ὡ ἀδελφοί μου¹², ὅτι τῆς τούτου τέχνομαι¹³ ὁμολογίας καὶ ταῦτα ὑπομένειν ἐπιθυμῶ, εἰ ὁ τούτου θεὸς ἤθελεν εἶναι¹⁴ ἐμὸς θεός.¹⁵ »

28. Il justifie devant ses condisciples sa foi et son désir du martyre.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ συμμαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ ἐταράχθησαν· καὶ ἤθελον ὁμιλίαις κολλακαῖς¹ ἐπανορθῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης προθέσεως. Ἐφοβούντο γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ μονογενὴς ἦν τῷ πατρί². Καὶ προσέθηκεν³ ὁ παῖς καὶ⁴ εἶπεν· « Ἀληθῶς μέγας ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τῶν χριστιανῶν, εἰς δὲ πιστεῦσαι⁵ ἐψηφισάμην, ὅστις⁶ τοὺς πεπιστευκότας⁷ εἰς αὐτὸν οὐ καταλιμπάνει. Τίς⁸ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα ταύτης τῆς ζωῆς, εἰ μὴ ὡς ἄσκός πεφυστημένος φανόμενος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ἔσθθην⁹ δίδάσκων, οὕτως¹⁰ καὶ

ἡ δόξα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ἐν ἣ ἡμεῖς τὴν πρόσκαιρον ἔχομεν ἔξουσίαν καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείαν οὐ γινώσκουμεν; Θέλομεν ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄρχοντα¹¹ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς οὐ ζητοῦμεν ἐξ ἀρίστου¹² καρδίας. Πόσω κέλτονα ἡμῶν ἐστιν τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα τὰ τοὺς δεσπότης τοὺς ἰδίους δῆγμασιν καὶ πανουργίας ἐκδικῶντα; Ἡμεῖς γὰρ λογικοὶ γενόμενοι τὸν ἡμέτερον γενέτην καταλιμπάνομεν καὶ σεβόμεθα¹³ λίθους. Ἀρκέσει μοι τὸ ἕως τῆς δευρο περιανῆσθαι· λοιπὸν οὐ πληνηθήσομαι. Εὐπρόσδεκτον ἦν¹⁴ καὶ¹⁵ ἀπολαῦσαι τοῦ φωτὸς ἀνευ τέλους¹⁶. Καταφρονῶ τῶν εὐολισθήτων¹⁷ χρημάτων καὶ τὰ αἰώνια ζητῶ. Τὰ γὰρ ἔμποδίσματα τούτου τοῦ κόσμου χωρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ¹⁸ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ πρόσκαιρος ἔξουσία διαδοχὴν περιμένει καὶ ἡ ζῶῃ αὕτη περιαιούται¹⁹ θανάτῳ. Ἐκείνῳ πιστεῦσαι ὀφείλω τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς μοι ἐπιδέλθῃ διάδοχος, οὗτως τῇ αἰωνιότητι²⁰ συναρθεὶς τὸν θάνατον οὐ φοβηθήσομαι. Αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν²¹ ἀληθὴς δόξα καὶ σεμνότης γένους. Ὑπὲρ τούτου δεῖ παθεῖν δν βασανιζόμενος οὐκ ἀπολέσω, ὁμολογῶν οὐ καταλείψω.²² »

29. Il renonce à sa famille pour adhérer à Julien.

Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος υἱός, εἰπας τὰ βιβλία καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἣν ἐνεδέδωτο ἀπέβαλεν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγων· « Μεμολυσμένα ἱμάτια ἀπορριπταί με ἀνάρκη ἐστὶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν σπεύδοντα. Ὑμνὸν με ἡ μητρικὴ γαστήρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι προσήγαγεν· ὅπερ ἐστὶν τοῦ κόσμου καταλείπτω τῷ κόσμῳ.²³ Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων διὰ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως ἔδραμεν, ἕως οὗ εἰς¹ τὸν τόπον ἐλθῇ² ὅπου ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐβασανιζέτο. Κελεύει γὰρ ὁ ἀδικώτατος Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸς ἵνα ἀνὰ³ πόδας τὰς πλατείας καὶ τὰς⁴ δύμους τῆς πόλεως ἀγόμενος⁵ πολλαῖς τιμωρίαις ὑποβληθῇ⁶. Τότε ὁ νεανίας, σπρώσας⁷ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἐβόα λέγων· « Σὲ γινώσκω πατέρα δευτέρας γεννήσεως, δν ὁ δεσπότης μου Χριστὸς δέκνυσιν. Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸν δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν, τὸν⁸ ἐχθρὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας δοῦλων διώκτην,

27. —¹ (π. τὰ μ.) παντὸς μέλους D. —² (ὑπὸ - κ.) om. D. —³ om. V. —⁴ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐν φωνῇ βοῶντος D. —⁵ post τοῦ δ. D. —⁶ om. D. —⁷ (ἐκ λ. - χρ.) χρυσοῦν λίθοις τιμίοις κεκοσμημένον D. —⁸ (ν. τὸ φ.) τὸ φ. γ. D. —⁹ ὀρθῶ add. D. —¹⁰ (ἀ. α. π.) ἔχοντας πέτρους δέτων καὶ π. αὐτὸν D. —¹¹ δοῦλους add. D. —¹² om. D. —¹³ δέχομαι D. —¹⁴ καὶ add. D. —¹⁵ κολλαευτικάς D. —¹⁶ αὐτοῦ add. D. —¹⁷ προσθείς D. —¹⁸ om. D. —¹⁹ κάλῳ add. D. —²⁰ ὅτι D. —²¹ πιστεύοντας D. —²² τὶ D. —²³ ὡν add. D. —²⁴ γὰρ add. V.

11 βασιλεῖα τὸν D. —¹² ἀντήκτου D. —¹³ σέβομεν D. —¹⁴ εὐχὼν D. —¹⁵ διὸ οὐ κάμω ἵνα ζητήσω καιρὸν D. —¹⁶ δόσεως sic D. —¹⁷ εὐολισθῶν D. —¹⁸ om. D. —¹⁹ περιούται D. —²⁰ ἰδιότητι D. —²¹ ἡ add. D. —²² 29. —¹ πρὸς D. —² ἦλθεν D. —³ om. V. —⁴ om. D. —⁵ om. D. —⁶ ὑποβλήσεται D. —⁷ bis V. —⁸ τὸ V.

ἔπερ χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρός μου, ὃν ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἠγνόησα, ταῦτα ὑπομείναι¹². » Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, οἱ τῶν τιμωρῶν ὑπηρέται καὶ στρατιῶται ἐξεθαμβήθησαν καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν ἀπετάγη¹³. Οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέποντο· καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ τηλικούτου πράγματος ἔτρεχον¹⁴. Καὶ πάντας¹⁵ φόβος εἰσῆρχετο¹⁶ ὁρώνας¹⁷ τὸν τοῦ ἄρχοντος υἱὸν οὕτως τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ προσκεκολλημένον καὶ οὕτως τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ καταφιλοῦντα καὶ τοιαῦτα βοῶντα· « Τί ἐξεθαμβήθητε, πάντες οἱ ὄνται οἱ¹⁸ συνελθόντες; Ἐπιγινώσκετέ με, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος υἱός, ὅστις μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ σεβάσματα τῶν ἁγίων σώματα ἐσπάρατον τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ τῆς πατρικῆς ἐξουσίας. Ταῦτα¹⁹ ἐτοίγησα ἀγνοῶν τὸν θεόν· γινὼς δὲ αὐτόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποτάττομαι τοῖς θεοῖς. Ἀγνοῦμαι²⁰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα. Τὰ περὶ σα²¹ ἀποβάλλομαι χορήματα καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκκαλοῦμαι. Ἀκολουθῶ²² τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ. Τί βραδύνετε, ὑπηρέται καὶ στρατιῶται; Ἀπέλθατε²³ καὶ ἀναγείλατε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐμὲ τὸν ἀληθινόν²⁴ θεὸν ἐγνωκέναι²⁵ καὶ τούτῳ προσκεκολλησθαι²⁶ ὃν ἀληθῆ δοῦλον²⁷ θεοῦ ἔγνω. »

30. Miracle des mains putréfiées.

Ἐφανερῶθι δὲ τοῦτο¹ πάσι τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡ φήμη κατέλαβεν. Ἀγγέλλεται² τοῖς τούτου γονεῦσιν³, οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες ὡς κηρὸς ἐν πυρὶ κατεκάησαν⁴. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολὺ πλῆθος συνεληλύθει, κελεύουσιν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ χωρισθέντα αὐτοῖς προσενεχθῆναι. Τῇ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ ἁγίου μέγστους συνέβη ὥστε τοῦ ἐκτείναντος τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὸ⁵ χωρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς⁶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ περιπολικῆς⁷ εὐθὺς τὰς χεῖρας σήπασθαι.

⁹ ἀπαγν. D. — ¹⁰ αὐτοῦ add. D. — ¹¹ τὰ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναι add. D. — ¹² τ. ὑ. om. D. — ¹³ ἐντάγη D. — ¹⁴ ἔτρεχον D. — ¹⁵ πᾶσιν D. — ¹⁶ εἰσέρχετο D. — ¹⁷ τοῖς ὁρώσιν D. — ¹⁸ (δ. οἱ) δῆμιοι D. — ¹⁹ δὲ add. D. — ²⁰ ἀπαγν. D. — ²¹ (τὰ π.) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ D. — ²² ἀκολουθῶν D. — ²³ ἀπέλθατε D. — ²⁴ ἀληθῆ D. — ²⁵ (θ. ἐ.) ἐ. θ. D. — ²⁶ προσκεκολλησθαι V. — ²⁷ τοῦ add. D.
30. — ¹ (Ἐ. δὲ τ.) Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐφ. τοῦτο καὶ D. — ² ἀναγγέλλεται δὲ D. — ³ τὸ πρῶγμα add. D. — ⁴ κατεκάησαν D. — ⁵ τοῦ D. — ⁶ om. D. — ⁷ περιπολικῆς D.

31. Le gouverneur demande à Julien de lui rendre son fils. Réponse du martyr.

Ἐκέλευσεν δὲ τούτους¹ ὁμοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι². Καὶ παρὰ γενομένων αὐτῶν, θεωρήσας εἰς τὸν μακάριον Ἰουλιανὸν εἶπεν³. « Τὸν καρπὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γαστρὸς⁴ μαγικαῖς ἐπιρώδαις ὑπνέσασθαι⁵ τοὺς γονεῖς σὺ ἐπεισας⁶. » Καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ ἄρχοντος, παρεγένετο καὶ⁷ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ νεανίσκου μετὰ πλῆθος οἰκετῶν ἐκατέρας φύσεως⁸ ὥσανε⁹ πεντακοσίῳ¹⁰, λύσσα τοὺς πλοκάμους καὶ γυμνώσασα τοὺς μαστοὺς¹¹ καὶ φωνὰς ἐκπέμποντα¹². Ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ ἄρχων ταῦτα, διασπαράξας τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ¹³ εἶπεν πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν· « Ὁμότετε Ἰουλιανέ, θεωρήσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης φαιμιλίας τοὺς θνητούς· καὶ τὸν ἀναιτίον¹⁴ λύσον ἐκ τῶν μαγικῶν¹⁵ τεχνῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν ἀποκαταστήσης καὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ ὑπηρεσίᾳ¹⁶ ἀποδῶς τὸν δεσπότην, ἵνα καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀνίσσω¹⁷ καὶ ἄνευ τιμωρίας ἀναχωρήσης. » Ὁ δὲ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Τῆς σῆς βοηθείας οὐ χρήζω οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν σὼν ἐπιθυμῶ ἀνέσεως τυχεῖν¹⁸. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο παρκακῶ τὸν δεσπότην μου Ἰησοῦν¹⁹ Χριστὸν ἵνα ἅμα μετὰ τούτου τοῦ ἄθου ἐκ τῶν λύκων ὄυσθέντες²⁰ πάντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες²¹ τὸ μαγτύριον ἀναδέξωνται²² ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ²³ οὗς σὺ ἀναιτίους τῷ πυρὶ κατηνάλωσας. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ πάρεστιν ὁ ἐκ σοῦ τεχνεὶς²⁴. αὐτός σοι ἀποκηθήσεται, αὐτὸς τὰ τῆς μητρὸς θεωρήσει δάκρυα, αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπ' ὧν ἀνετράφη ἀλήσει, θανάτου καὶ σφαγῆς καταφρονήσας²⁵. »

31. — ¹ (δὲ τ.) τ. ὁ Μαρκιανὸς D. — ² (πρ. α. δ.) προσενεχθῆναι D. — ³ ὃ τῆς κακουργίας add. D. — ⁴ ἐλπίδος D. — ⁵ ἀπαγν. D. — ⁶ (σὺ ἐ.) συνέπεισας D. — ⁷ om. D. — ⁸ (ἐ. φ.) καὶ θεωρῶντων D. — ⁹ ὡς D. — ¹⁰ καὶ add. D. — ¹¹ μασθοῦς D. — ¹² (κ. φ. ἐ.) ἡρέτατο φωνὰς θηνώδεις ἐκπέμπειν D. — ¹³ ἐαυτοῦ D. — ¹⁴ αἴτιον V. — ¹⁵ (λ. ἐκ τ. μ.) ἐκ τ. μ. ἀπόλυτον D. — ¹⁶ τοσαύτης ὑπηρεσίας D. — ¹⁷ παρὰ κλησιν add. D. — ¹⁸ (τῶν σὼν - τ.) σοὺ ἀδίκων τι ἐπιθυμῶ D. — ¹⁹ om. D. — ²⁰ ὄυσθαι D. — ²¹ (π. οἱ π.) καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν πιστευόντων D. — ²² ἀναδέξομαι καὶ D. — ²³ κατα<τα>γῶμεν τῶν ἁγίων D. — ²⁴ ἀγτίως δὲ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀναγεννηθῆις διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ add. D. — ²⁵ (αὐτὸς τὰ τῆς - κ.) om. D.

32. L'enfant converti repousse ses parents.

Παὶς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ σεβάσμιος παῖς ¹. « Ὅσπερ ἐξ ἀκαθῶν ῥόδων ² γεννησθαι εἶωθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν τὴν ἡδυτάτην ὁσμὴν τῶν ῥόδων τὸ γεννηθὲν ἀπὸ ἀκαθῶν, οὐδὲ αἱ ἀκαθὰ τὰ ῥόδα φύουσαι ἀπόλλυσι ³ τὰ κέντρα, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς ⁴ εἰώθατε πλήττεσθε ⁵ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς τὴν ὁσμὴν τῆς εὐωδίας· ὑμῖν πειθαρχοῦσιν οἱ ἐτοιμοὶ ἀπολέσθαι ⁶. Ἐμὲ μιμῆσονται ⁷ οἱ ἀπὸ σκοτιῶν ⁸ εἰς φῶς μετελθεῖν ἀγωνιζόμενοι. Ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου μου ὑμᾶς τοὺς γονεῖς ἀπαρνούμαι. Ὑμεῖς διὰ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν θρησκείαν τὸν υἱὸν ὑμῶν κολάσατε ⁹. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦ προσκαίρου θανάτου αἰώνιον ¹⁰ εὐχρίσιν ζώην. Οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναμαι εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐσεβῆς εἶναι καὶ εἰς ἑμαυτὸν ὡμός ¹¹, οὐδὲ τὸν περὶ ὑμᾶς πόθον προτιμᾶν ¹² τῆς αἰωνίας ¹³ χάριτος. Τί παρῆλκετε ¹⁴; Ἀπιστος ὢν καὶ ὡμός πατήρ νῦν ὡς ἀληθῆς ¹⁵ Ἀβραάμ λάβε τὸ ξίφος καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ τὸν υἱὸν προσένεγκε. Εἰ δέ σε τὸ τῆς γεννήσεως πάθος νικᾷ, πέμψον με ἐπὶ τὸν χαλεπώτατον βασιλέα, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ μαρτύριον τιμωρίαις ἐκπληρώσω. Μάταιοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ὑμέτεροι στεναγμοὶ καὶ ¹⁶ ἀνόητα τὰ δάκρυα. Ὑπὲρ ¹⁶ ταύτης ¹⁷ τῆς ὁμολογίας οὐδεμία εὐσέβεια ¹⁸ δυνήσεται ἐφελκεῖσθαι ¹⁹. Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ μέλει πᾶς ὄρθος φιλοσόφων ²⁰ ἀγγεί. Ἀναχωρεῖτω ²¹ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομα καὶ τῆς μητρὸς· οὐ προτιμῶ αὐτοῦς ὑπὲρ ²² τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου ²³. »

33. Les chrétiens sont enfermés dans un cachot infect.

Ταῦτα ἀκούων ¹ ὁ Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς ἐξεβόησεν· « Ἀποκλεισθή-
τωσαν ἐν ² ἰδιωτικῇ φυλακῇ καὶ ³ ἀναγκαῖαι εὐπορίαι ⁴ αὐτοῖς πα-
ρασχεθῶσιν ⁵. » Ὁ ⁶ νεανίσκος εἶπεν· « Ταῦτα δὲ κελεύεις εὐτε-

πισθῆναι, τοῖς συναινούσιν σοι ἐπανάλωσον ⁷. » Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
ἀρχὼν Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς ⁸ ἐπεβυχήσατο ⁹ ὡς λέων· καὶ ὑπολαμ-
βάνων τῇ τιμωρίᾳ πτοῆσαι ¹⁰ οὐδὲ κολακείαις πείσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν,
ἐκέλευσεν ¹¹ ἐν ἐνδοτάτῃ φυλακῇ ἀποκλεισθῆναι ¹² ὅπου τὰ τῶν κατα-
κρίτων μέλη, πολυχρονία τῇ ¹³ τηκεδόνι καταναλισκόμενα, φρικτῶν
σκληρῶν ἔσμους ἀνέβρυσον, καὶ ὁσμὴ ¹⁴ πύσης ὁσμῆς ¹⁵ χείρων ¹⁶.
Εἰσάγονται οἱ μακάριοι μάτρυες, οὐδὲ προσηυμένη ἡ χάρις τοῦ
δεσπότου ¹⁷ τὸν φρικτὸν τόπον τετραπὺν ἀπετέλεισεν· καὶ μετέβαλον ¹⁸
τὸ σκότος εἰς φῶς ¹⁹, ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας ἐκπέμποντες ²⁰.

34. Vingt soldats se convertissent.

Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντες ὠσανεῖ εἴκοσι στρατιῶται οἱ τῇ φυλακῇ
ἀφωρισμένοι ¹ ἐπιστραφέντες λέγουσιν ². « Αἰσχρὴν ἡμῖν οὐκ ³
ἔστιν, εἴ τι σιδήρου ⁴ εἴχομεν στηθὸς ⁵, εἰ ἀπὸ ⁶ τοιούτου φωτὸς
εἰς σκότος ἐπιστρέψωμεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς εἰς θάνατον καὶ ἀπὸ
ὁσμῆς εὐωδίας ἐπὶ ἐκχύσεις αἱμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τοιούτου πατρὸς
πρὸς δικαστὴν ὀργιζόμενον ⁷, ἀπὸ ἀληθείας πρὸς ψεῦδος ⁸, ἀπὸ
ἡφαλεότητος εἰς ⁹ μέθυσμα, ἀπὸ σωφροσύνης εἰς ἡδονήν ⁹; Αἰ-
σχρὸν ἔστιν ὑποστρέφειν πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ ἐγενόμεθα ¹⁰, ἀμελήσαι
τῆς δόξης ἥς ἡύρομεν ¹¹. » Ταῦτα δὲ ¹² λέγοντες εἰς τοὺς πόδας ¹³
ἐκυλόντο τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἐπαινουντες καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες τὸ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα. Τότε ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ τοῦ σεβα-
σμίου παιδὸς ἡὺχαρίσται τῷ θεῷ. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν Μ α ρ κ
ι α ν ὁ ς ἐπιτίθουσιν τῇ φυλακῇ ὠμοτάτους φύλακας, ὅπως προση-
τοιμασμένας πᾶσιν τιμωρίας ¹⁴ ἐπανάγῃ ¹⁵. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰουλια-
νός, μερμυρῶν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τούτων ὧν τῷ Χριστῷ προσε-
πορίσατο, παρεκάλει τὸν θεὸν ¹⁶ ἵνα φροντίσῃ ὅπως τῆς τοῦ βαπτί-
σματος χάριτος τύχωσιν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐ σιωπήσομαι.

32. — ¹ ἀπεκρίνατο add. D. — ² ῥόδα D. — ³ (τὴν ἡδυτάτην-ἀπόλλυσι) om. V propter homoeoteleuton. — ⁴ (καὶ ὕ. ὡς) οὕτως καὶ ὕ. D. — ⁵ πλήττετε D. — ⁶ (εἰς τὴν-ἀπ.) εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν οὕτως τῇ εὐωδίᾳ σφύζομεθα D. — ⁷ μιμείσθωσαν D. — ⁸ σκότους D. — ⁹ ante τὸν υ. ὕ. D. — ¹⁰ αἰωνίαν D. — ¹¹ ὁμῶς D. — ¹² προστιθεῖν D. — ¹³ αἰώνιον D. — ¹⁴ παρῆλκεις με D. — ¹⁵ om. D. — ¹⁶ om. D. — ¹⁷ μου add. D. — ¹⁸ συμπάθεια D. — ¹⁹ ἀφελκύσαι με D. — ²⁰ (π. ὁ. φ.) πᾶσα φύλαξα D. — ²¹ ἀναχωρεῖτε D. — ²² αὐ. ὕ. om. D. — ²³ om. D.

33. — ¹ ἀκούσας D. — ² om. D. — ³ αἱ add. D. — ⁴ ἐμπορίαι D. — ⁵ ita D, παραδέχέσθωσαν V. — ⁶ δέ add. D.

⁷ ἀνάλωσον D. — ⁸ τοῦτο add. D. — ⁹ ἐβρυχήσατο D. — ¹⁰ ποιῆσαι (pro πείσαι) D. — ¹¹ om. D. — ¹² ἐν ἐνδοτάτῃ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀποκλείει αὐτοὺς D. — ¹³ om. D. — ¹⁴ ἦν add. D. — ¹⁵ δυσωδίας D. — ¹⁶ καὶ add. D. — ¹⁷ Χριστοῦ add. D. — ¹⁸ καὶ μ. om. D. — ¹⁹ μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ add. D. — ²⁰ ἐκπέμπονσα D.

34. — ¹ (ὠσανεῖ-ἀφ.) οἱ τῇ φ. ἀφ. στρ. ὡς εἴκοσι ὀνόματα τὸν ἀγριθμόν D. — ² πρὸς ἀλλήλους add. D. — ³ om. D. — ⁴ σιδήρὸν V. — ⁵ (εἰ-στ.) om. D. — ⁶ τοῦ add. D. — ⁷ καὶ add. D. — ⁸ πρὸς D. — ⁹ ἀφροσύνην D. — ¹⁰ (τ. ὁ. ἐ.) ταῦτα καὶ D. — ¹¹ ἡύρομεν D. — ¹² om. D. — ¹³ ἐλθόντες add. D. — ¹⁴ (π. τ.) τ. π. D. — ¹⁵ ἐπανάγῃ D. — ¹⁶ (τῷ Χρ. - θεόν) προσεπ. τῷ Χρ. πα-
ρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν D.

35. Les sept frères et leur prêtre Antoine.

Ἄλλο δὲ δῶρον μέγιστον¹ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει παραχωρηθὲν ἦν².
 Πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ διωγμοῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς³ Διοκλητιανὸς⁴
 καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς⁵ πρωτεύοντά τινα⁶ τῆς πόλεως μονογενῶς⁷
 ἡγάνων, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλέως⁸ κατήγετο. Ὅς
 τελευτῶν⁹ χριστιανὸς μετὰ τῆς γαμετῆς ἐπὶ υἱὸς¹⁰ χριστιανὸς
 καταλείπεται¹¹. οὗς¹² οἱ βασιλεῖς διὰ τὸν περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς¹³
 πόθον ἐκέλευσαν ἀνευ τινὸς διωγμοῦ τῇ χριστιανικῇ¹⁴ δουλεύειν
 θρησκείᾳ. Οὗτοι¹⁵ εἶχον πρεσβύτερον¹⁶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ μυστήρια¹⁷
 ἐπιτελοῦντα. Κελεύονται¹⁸ δὲ κατ' ὄναρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄμα μετὰ
 τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἵνα ὁ παῖς¹⁹ καὶ οἱ
 στρατιῶται τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος δέξωνται χάριν. Ἐλθόντες δὲ
 ἐκεῖ θεωροῦσιν ἄγγελον τοῦ δεσπότης προλαμβάνοντα²⁰, οὗ ἀπα-
 μένου τῆς θύρας πάντα τὰ κλεῖθρα τῆς φυλακῆς ἡνεύχθησαν²¹.
 Εὐχόμενοι δὲ²² ἄμα τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ ἐβόησαν²³. « Ἴδοὺ
 πάρεσμεν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἱερέως²⁴. Ἄνθρωποι, ἵνα πάντες τὴν
 χάριν τοῦ βαπτίσματος²⁵ δέξωνται. Ἡμεῖς οἱ μικροὶ²⁶ διὰ σοῦ, πά-
 ρερ Ἰουλιανέ, ἀληθεῖς στρατιῶται Χριστοῦ διὰ σοῦ²⁷ γενησόμεθα. »
 Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Εὐχαριστῶ σοί,
 ἀγαθὲ Ἰησοῦ, ὁ ἀξιώσας πληρωθῆναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου, ἵνα οὕτοι
 οἱ δι' ἐμοῦ σοὶ προσπορισθέντες διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ βαπτίσματος
 μέλη τῆς πίστεώς σου δειχθῶσιν, καὶ ὅτι²⁸ τούτους, οὗς ἡ ἀσεβῆς
 τῶν βασιλέων εὐσέβεια τοὺς ἄγους μικροὺς²⁹ μεταξὺ τουσούτων
 λύκων κατέλειπεν³⁰, πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀγίου σου ὀνόματος
 προσήθροισας³¹. »

35. —¹ (Ἰ. Α. - μ.) ἀλλὰ τὸ μ. δ. τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ γενόμενον D. —² (π. ἦν) διηγή-
 σομαι D. —³ οἱ β. post Μαξ. D. —⁴ (πρ. τ.) τὸν πρ. D. —⁵ ὁμογενούς D. —
 —⁶ βασιλικού D. —⁷ τελευτήσας D. —⁸ πλείους add. D. —⁹ καταλείπτειν
 D. —¹⁰ καὶ D. —¹¹ αὐτῶν add. D. —¹² χριστιανῶν D. —¹³ δέ add. D. —¹⁴ τινα
 add. D. —¹⁵ τοῦ Χριστοῦ add. D. —¹⁶ κελεύεται V. —¹⁷ καὶ I. δ. π. om. D. —
 —¹⁸ αὐτοῦ add. D. —¹⁹ ἀνεύχθησαν D. —²⁰ (Ε. δέ) εὐχομένων δέ τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν D. —²¹ εἰσελθόντες οὗτοι ἀνεβόησαν D. —²² τοῦ β. τὴν Χ. D. —²³ sic;
 (ἦ. οἱ μ.) καὶ ἦ. οἱ μικροὶ D. —²⁴ δ. σ. om. D. —²⁵ τοὺς ἄγους D. —²⁶ (τ. ἄ.
 μ.) κατέλειπεν D. —²⁷ κατέλειπεν V, om. D. —²⁸ συνήθροισας D.

36. Marcien essaie de raisonner les sept frères
et les fait emprisonner.

Ἀγγέλλεται¹ τῷ ἀσεβεῖ Μαρκιανῷ² τὸ γεγονός καὶ [ὅτι]
 συνελθόντας τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀδελφοὺς³ ἄμα τῷ ἀγίῳ⁴ Ἰουλιανῷ εὐχε-
 σθαι⁵ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας φύλακας περιέστη-
 σεν⁶ καὶ ἐξαγανὺν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς προσδιλέγεται οὕτως·
 « Τί ὑμῖν συνέβη, ὦ παῖδες, οὗς οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως ἀγαπῶσιν ὥστε
 κατὰ προαίρεσιν ὑμῖν ἐξεῖναι⁷ θησκαεῦεν; Τί ὑπομένετε⁸ ἀνευ
 διωγμοῦ εὐχόμενοι⁹ ἀποθανεῖν, οἷς συγκεχώρηται τό ζῆν;¹⁰ Εἰ καὶ
 ἐγὼ τὸν υἱὸν κακουργίας ἀπώλεσα καὶ αἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διάνοιαι
 οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐπὶ οὐδαὶς ἐνηλλάγησαν, ἀκούσατέ¹¹ μου καὶ ἔστε¹²
 ἀμέλεινοι ὡς περ καὶ ἦτε. » Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μελὼν τῶν σεβασμίων
 ἀδελφῶν ἀποκρίνεται λέγων· « Ἠγεμῶν, ἀκουσον τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοὶ
 λεγόμενα. » Ὁ ἄρχων εἶπεν¹³. « Ἀκούω¹⁴. » Ὁ παῖς εἶπεν·
 « Ὁ χρυσός, καὶ βῶλος ὢν, ἔτι τὴν οἰκίαν ἔχει λαμπρότητα·
 τῇ δὲ τοῦ τεχνίτου χειρὶ μετὰ λίθων τιμίων¹⁵ στέμμα βασιλικὸν
 ἔκτελει, ὥστε θαυμάζειν τοὺς ὄδωντας τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ¹⁶ χρῆσιν
 τοῖς μαργαρίταις κεκολλημένῃν. Οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγενήθημεν ἐκ
 χριστιανοῦ¹⁷ χριστιανοί· εἰ μὴδὲ ἡ γέννησις δημοσία ἦν πᾶσι φα-
 νερωθεῖσα¹⁸, ἐν τῷ λεληθότι οὐ στεφανοῦται¹⁹. καὶ εἰ μὴ²⁰ Ἰου-
 λιανὸς ἀσπίδι²¹ ὁδῶ ἀκολοιθῆσομεν, εἰς διόδημα τοῦ αἰωνίου
 βασιλέως²² τοῦ δεσπότης Χριστοῦ εἶναι οὐ δυνάμεθα. Πάνυ φευ-
 κτὸν ἔστιν²³ δένδρον τὸ φύλλος θάλλον καὶ μὴ παρῆχον καρπὸν²⁴
 τῷ ἰδίῳ γεωργῷ. » Ταῦτα ἀκούων²⁵ ὁ ἡγεμὼν κελύει αὐτοὺς εἰς
 τὴν²⁶ φυλακὴν ἀχθῆναι²⁷ ἐν ἣ ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ πάντες²⁸
 τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ αἱ πλασταὶ κολλαεῖαι τὰ
 ἀβλαβῆ στήθη ἐκκλίνουσιν τῆς καρδίας²⁹. Ὑποδέχονται³⁰ οἱ
 ἄγιοι ἰλαροὺς³¹ περὶ ὧν ἦσαν ὑποστοί.

36. —¹ οὖν add. D. —² συνελθόντες οἱ ἐ. ἀδελφοὶ D. —³ μακαρίῳ D. —
 —⁴ εὐχονται D. —⁵ (φ. π.) π. αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας D. —⁶ om. V. —⁷ σπεύετε D. —
 —⁸ om. D. —⁹ καὶ ὑμεῖς praem. D. —¹⁰ βιώσατε D. —¹¹ λέγε ἀπερ βούλει add.
 D. —¹² γὰρ add. D. —¹³ συντεθείς add. D. —¹⁴ (τὴν τοῦ χρ.) τοῦ χρ. τὴν· —
 —¹⁵ καὶ ἐσμέν add. D. —¹⁶ (ἡ γ. - φ.) αὐτῇ ἡ ὁμολογία ἡμῶν δημοσιευθῇ D. —
 —¹⁷ στεφανούμεθα D. —¹⁸ τῇ add. D. —¹⁹ om. D. —²⁰ τοῦ α. β. D. —²¹ (π. φ. ἐ.)
 ἀχρηστον δέ ἐστιν πᾶν D. —²² (θ. - κ.) μόνον θ., κ. δὲ μὴ παρ. D. —²³ ἀκούσας
 D. —²⁴ om. D. —²⁵ εἰσαχθ. D. —²⁶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ add. D. —²⁷ ἵνα μὴ αἱ πλεί-
 σται κολ. τοῦ ἀχρηστοῦ ἐκκλίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰς κ. D. —²⁸ δέ add. D. —²⁹ τοὺς
 ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ add. D.

37. Marcien fait rapport aux empereurs.

Julien et ses compagnons seront brûlés vifs.

Τότε Μαρκεῖανος ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναφορὰς¹ ἐποίησεν πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγων². « Τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν καὶ θείοις ἀγάλλμασιν τοῖς ἀπομεμνηκόσιν παρὰσχετε βοήθειαν³· καὶ τὸν μάγον Ἰουλιανὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ὑμετέρας ὕψεις παραστήσετε⁴, ὅστις μαγικαῖς τέχναις πλέον ἢ πεντακοσίων⁵ δι' ὧν ὁ κόσμος ἀνθεὶ ἀγάλλματα⁶ συνέτριψεν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ μου υἱὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπεχώρισεν⁷, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς διανοίας οὐκ οἶδα ποίᾳ μαγικῇ τέχνῃ ἐνῆλλαξεν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀδελφούς, οὓς ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλανθρωπία ἐκέλευσεν τῷ ἰδίῳ θρησκείῃν νόμῳ, καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ μαγείᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦγαγεν καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας εὐεργεσίας ἐποίησεν ἀχαρίστους. Ὑψηλάσθε οὖν τί κατὰ τούτων οὔριζετε. » Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ταύτην ἔδωκαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἵνα, ἐὰν⁸ Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ⁹ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιμείνῃ¹⁰, πρὸς παρὰδειγμα τῶν λοιπῶν, συγκληθείσης πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ ἐνωθέντος¹¹ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ θεωρουντος, ἐκαστῷ λέβητα εὐρεπιοθῆναι πίσης καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ θεάρου γέμοντας πετυρωμένους¹² καὶ¹³ εἰς¹⁴ τούτους ἐμβληθῆναι πυρὶ ὑποκαιομένου. Εἰ δὲ τῆς μαγικῆς τέχνης¹⁵ ἐπωδὴ πλέον ἰσχύῃ¹⁶, ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀδειαὶ οἷα βούλεται τιμωρίᾳ τούτους αἰκίζειν.

38. Les martyrs acceptent la sentence.

Λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ ἄρχων κελεύει αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φόρῳ βῆμα εὐρεπιοθῆναι. Καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ καθίσας ἐκέλευσεν τὸν ἄγιον Ἰουλιανὸν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ στῆναι. Ἐστῶτων δὲ αὐτῶν, ταύτην ἔρρηξεν τὴν φωνήν· « Οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ἐν τῷ¹ τηλικούτῳ διαστηματι τοῦ καιροῦ ἐνεθυμήθητε; » Ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς ἀποκρίνεται². « Ἡ ἐνθύμησις ἡ ὑμετέρα ἥτις ἐστὶν³ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς⁴, ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἐν

37. —¹ ὁ ἡγ. Μ. ἀναφορὰν D. —² περιέχουσιν οὕτως· Εὐσεβέστατοι βασιλεῖς D. —³ -σατε D. —⁴ πεντακόσια ἀγάλλματα D. —⁵ om. D. —⁶ ἐχώρισεν D. —⁷ om. D. —⁸ ὁ add. D. —⁹ τῇ ὁμ. om. D. —¹⁰ ὁμ. add. D. —¹¹ παντός add. D. —¹² θεάρου γέμοντα καὶ ἐκτυρωθῆναι D. —¹³ om. V. —¹⁴ om. D. —¹⁵ ἡ add. D. —¹⁶ ἰσχύσει D.

38. —¹ om. D. —² ἀπεκρίθη D. —³ (ἡ. ἐ.) καθάπερ ἦν D. —⁴ καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχει add. D.

αὐτοῦ καὶ τελειοῖ⁵. Σὺ δέ, ἐάν τινα τιμωρίαν ἐνεθυμήθης⁶, ἐκνύμωσον⁷. » Μαρκεῖανος εἶπεν· « Ὅπως ἐνθυμουμαι πληρῶ. » Καὶ προσεβλήθη⁸. « Ἡκούσατε τί περὶ ὑμῶν ὤρισαν οἱ ἀήττητοι βασιλεῖς; » Ὁ σεβάσμιος παῖς ἀποκρίνεται⁹. « Ἡκούσας καὶ σὺ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἦν εὐτρεπίσεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς γενομένοις αὐτοῦ ἀγγέλοις (37); » Ἐπακολούθησας δὲ¹⁰ ὁ ἄγιος¹¹ Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Ὅπως ἐκέλευσαν¹² πλήρωσον. Ἀκούσαι¹³ γὰρ οὐχ ἡδέως ἔχομεν. »

39. Julien ressuscite un mort.

Τούτων δὲ¹ λεγομένων, σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ τῆς πλατείας κατεφέρετο ἐπὶ ταφῇ. Τότε Μαρκεῖανος ὁ ἡγεμὼν², τυφλωθεὶς τῇ καρδίᾳ³ κελεύει τὸ σῶμα ἀνεκρεθῆναι⁴ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ χορῷ⁵ καὶ⁶ ἀποτεθῆναι. Καὶ λέγει πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν⁷. « Ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς λέγεται⁸ ὅτι περὶ ἡ σταυρωθῆναι⁹ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἤγειρεν. Καὶ¹⁰ ὑμεῖς ὥσπερ ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν τοῦτον ἐγείρατε¹¹ τὸν νεκρόν. » Ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν¹². « Τί ὠφελεῖ τὸν τυφλὸν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλων; » Ὁ ἄρχων εἶπεν· « Τοῦτων τῶν μύθων φεῖσαι. Καὶ ἐάν τί ποτε δύνῃ¹³ ἡ¹⁴ ὁ θεὸς ὁ σός, ὥς προεῖπον, τοῦτον τὸν νεκρὸν ἔγειρον. » Ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Εἰ καὶ ἡ ἀπιστία ὑμῶν οὐκ ἦν ἀξία, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ εὖ ἐστὶν ἵνα ἡ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἀρετὴ φανερωθῇ, ἵνα μὴ ἀδύνατον νομίσης¹⁵, πιστὴν ἐπαγγέλιαν ἔχω τοῦ δεσπότου, πιστεύων¹⁶ ὅτι δ¹⁷ αὐτὸν αἰτήσω (38) οὐχ ὥστερεῖ με. » Τότε τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀτενίσκοντος¹⁸ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν¹⁹ ὥς ἐπὶ διάστημα ὥρας^{19*}, ἐνηλλάγη ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο ὥς χιών²⁰. Καὶ τοῦτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπὶ πάντων ἐξέχεεν προσευχὴν²¹ πρὸς τὸν θεόν²². « Δέσποτα

⁵ ἐν ἡ γὰρ ὁμολογία ἡρξάμεθα, ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τελειοῦμεθα D. —⁶ καθ' ἡμῶν add. D. —⁷ γνύμωσαν δι' αὐτῆς τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν D. —⁸ λέγων add. D. —⁹ ἀπεκρίθη D. —¹⁰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις add. D. —¹¹ om. D. —¹² οἱ βασιλεῖς add. D. —¹³ δὲ add. D.

39. —¹ om. D. —² ὁ ἡγ. Μαρκ. D. —³ τὴν καρδίαν D. —⁴ ἀχθὲν D. —⁵ τοῦ χοροῦ D. —⁶ om. D. —⁷ πρ. τῶν Ἱ. λέγει D. —⁸ λέγετε D. —⁹ σταυρωθῇ D. —¹⁰ ἀπὸ γε καὶ D. —¹¹ ἐγείρατε D. —¹² ἀποκρίνεται λέγων D. —¹³ δύναται D. —¹⁴ om. D. —¹⁵ αὐτὸν εἶναι add. D. —¹⁶ ἔχων. πιστεύω D. —¹⁷ εἰάν add. D. —¹⁸ ἀτενίσκουν V. —¹⁹ εἰς τ. ο. om. V. —^{19*} ὦ. δ. ~ D. —²⁰ ὥσεὶ χ. λευκή D. —²¹ om. D. —²² τὴν πρ. αὐτοῦ κτάζων add. D.

Ἰησοῦ, ὅστις εἰ ἀληθὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, δς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐγεννήθης ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνευ καιροῦ²² καὶ ἔνεκα τοῦ κόσμου²⁴ ταύτην τὴν σάββα ἐλαβες ἄνευ σπέρματος²⁵, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ²⁶ πρὸς αἰσχύνην τῶν σῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ βεβαίωσιν τῆς πίστεως²⁷ τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιοτόων· καὶ αὖ* ἐποίησας ἐν τῇ γῇ, τοῦτων ἐπάκουσον νῦν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς²⁸· καὶ ἔγειρον τοῦτον τὸν τετελευτηκότα²⁹, ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μὴ τελευτήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ τετελευτηκότες ἀναζήσωσιν³⁰.» Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἔφη πρὸς τὸ σῶμα³¹. «Ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ τὸν τετραήμερον λῑ δ' α ρ ο ν ἐγείραντος, αὐτὸς σοι προστάττει³². Ἀνάστηθι.» Καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, ἀνέστη ὁ τεθνεὺς καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐβόα· «Ὡς εὐπερὶ ὁδεκτος προσευχή, ὦ ἄχραντος παρθενία, ὦ ὅσων ἀξιούται³³. Που ἀπηγόμην καὶ πόθεν ἀνηρέχθην³⁴;»

40. Le gouverneur interroge le ressuscité.

Τότε¹ ὁ τυφλὸς Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸ ς ἔλεγεν· «Πόθεν ἐπανήλθες;» Καὶ² τότε ἐκεῖνος ὁ τετελευτηκὼς εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα· «Ἐπίρρεσόν μοι κατ' ἀξίαν³ εἰπεῖν.» Ὁ ἡγεμὼν πάλιν ἐγγέλων αὐτῷ ἔφη· «Ἐλπίε.» Πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν· «Ἡρόμην ὑπὸ τινων Α λ θ ι ὸ π ω ν, ὧν ἡ ἡλικία ὡς γινάντων ἦν⁴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος φρικτόν, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὡς πῦρ καμίνου⁵, οἱ ὀδόντες ὡς λεόντων, οἱ βραχίονες ὡς δοκοί, οἱ ὄνυχες⁶ ἀετοῦ, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἦν ἐλεημοσύνη. Οὗτοι χαίροντες ἡγόν με⁷ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια. Ἐγγίζοντος δέ μου λοιπὸν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ, εἰς τοῦτο ἦν⁸ εἰς τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι τὸ σῶμα τῇ γῇ ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθην⁹. Ἐπειδὴ¹⁰ δέ οὕτε αἱ δῶκοι οὕτε αἱ ψευδεῖς οὕτε αἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ οὕτε αἱ ἀσεβεῖς ψυχαὶ παρὰδίδονται τῷ ὀφειλομένῳ τότῳ, εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα τῇ γῇ παρὰδοθῇ¹¹ ἐξ ἧς¹² ἐλήφθην, ἀτηνίκα δέ σὺ, ἡγεμὼν, τὸ σῶμά μου ἐποίησας ἀνακλιθῆναι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς πρὸς τὸν τῶν οὐρανῶν¹³ δεσπότην ἐξέχεεν¹⁴ ἱκεσίαν,

²³ καὶ χρόνου add. D. — ²⁴ σου add. D. — ²⁵ ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου add. D. — ²⁶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μου D. — ²⁷ βεβαίωσιν τὴν πίστιν D. — * an pro ὡς? — ²⁸ (καὶ δ - οὐχ.) om. D. — ²⁹ νεκρὸν D. — ³⁰ (ἵνα - δ.) ἐν τῇ πίστει σου ζωοποιηθῶσιν D. — ³¹ Σοὶ λέγω, γῇ ἐηγά add. D. — ³² αὐ. σ. πρ. om. D. — ³³ (ὦ δ. δ.) πόσων ἀξ. ἀγαθῶν D. — ³⁴ ἀνέχθην D. — Minoribus litteris impressa sunt quae, in V mutuum dente corrupta, ope codicis D supplenda fuerunt.

40. — ¹ om. D. — ² om. D. — ³ (κ. δ.) κατὰ τὰξιν V. — ⁴ ante ὡς D. — ⁵ om. D. — ⁶ ὡς add. D. — ⁷ ἡγ. με χαίρ. ~ D. — ⁸ ἡμην D. — ⁹ ἐξ ἧς ἐ. om. D. — ¹⁰ ἐπεὶ D. — ¹¹ καὶ add. D. — ¹² (τ. ο.) οὐράνιον D. — ¹³ τὴν add. D.

πάντα τὰ καταχθόνια ἐταράχθη καὶ ἠκούσθη φωνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος· «Διὰ τὸν ἡγαπημένον μου¹⁴ Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπαναχθήσεται¹⁵, ἐπειδὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λυπηῖσθαι τοῦτον βούλομαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὕτως¹⁶ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον¹⁷ χαίρει.» Ταύτης δέ γενομένης¹⁸ τῆς φωνῆς, ἦλθον δύο λευχειμονούντες καὶ ἀφελόμενοί με ἐκ τῆς δεσπορίας τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀπεδώκασιν¹⁹ τῷ φωτὶ τοῦτῳ, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐγείραντός με γνώσωμαι μετὰ θάνατον ἐκείνον δν περιῶν ἀπηγοῦμένην²⁰.» Ταῦτα ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων²¹ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐταράχθη· καὶ ἵνα μὴ διχαστασία²² γένηται μεταξὺ τοσούτου πλήθους, κελεύει τοῦτον μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀποκλεισθῆναι καὶ τὰ κλειῖθρα τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ αὐτοῦ σφραγισθῆναι²³. δν ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐποίησεν ἐπιτυχεῖν²⁴ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Ὅστις καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ μαρτυρῇ ἡγωνίσατο.

41. Il fait préparer les chaudières pour le supplice.

Ὁ δέ ἀσεβὴς Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὸ ς κελεύει τὴν τιμωρίαν προετοιμασθῆναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κελυσθεῖσαν. Τῇ δέ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες συνέρχεσθον καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία συνήγετο ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἱεροδομίας θέαν. Καθεσθέντος δέ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, λέβητες κατὰ τὰξιν τίθενται τριάκοντα καὶ εἰς. Μετὰ πολλοῦ δέ¹ φόβου ἐμβληθείσης πίσεως καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ θειάφου² καὶ πλήθους³ ξύλων ἀποτεθέντος⁴, κελεύει ὁ ἀσεβὴς ἡγεμὼν τοὺς ἀγίους ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐξάγεσθαι.

42. Émotion de la foule. Julien lui parle.

Ὁ δέ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ ὁ παῖς¹ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ ἐκρατοῦντο, οἱ δέ λοιποὶ βαρυτάταις ἀλύσεισιν ἐλκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, ὕμνους τῷ θεῷ πάντες μιᾷ φωνῇ ᾄδοντες². «Ἀγαθὸν μοι³ ὅτι ἐταπεινώσάς

¹⁴ μοι D. — ¹⁵ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα add. D. — ¹⁶ om. D. — ¹⁷ ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ ἅγ. πν. D. — ¹⁸ post τῆς φ. D. — ¹⁹ sic V, ἀπεδεδ. D. — ²⁰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀπ. τὸ πρότερον D. — ²¹ καὶ ἀκ. post ὁ ἡγ. D. — ²² τις add. D. — ²³ (καὶ τὰ - σ.) om. V propter homoeoteleuton. — ²⁴ τυχεῖν D.

41. — ¹ post φ. ἐμβλ. D. — ² θειάφου D. — ³ πλήθος D. — ⁴ ἀποτεθέντων D. 42. — ¹ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος add. D. — ² τε καὶ λέγοντες add. D. — ³ om. D.

με¹, ὅπως ἂν μάθω² τὰ δικαιώματά σου (39). » Ὡς τὸ κἄλλος πάντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ πάντες συναχθέντες ἐθγήρουν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐβόων³. « Ὡ ἀδικία· καὶ ἡμεῖς τέκνα ἐχόμεν. » Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες λυσίτριχοι⁴ ἔκραζον· « Ὡ κολῆς πικρότερος στεναγμός. Διὰ τοιαύτη νεότης πυρὶ κατακαίεται; Ὡ τυφλὴ ἐξουσία καὶ δυναστεία, ἣτις οὐδὲ ζώτων φεῖδεται, οὐδὲ⁵ νεκρῶν¹⁰ ἀκούει. » Τότε ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς ἡσυχίαν αἰτήσας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον¹¹ ἔφη· « Μὴ κωλύσῃτε ἡμᾶς λαμπροτέρους γενέσθαι χρυσοῦ διὰ τοῦ πυρός, τοῦτο ἰδόντες¹², ἐπειδὴ ὕψεσθε ἡμᾶς, πιστοί τε καὶ ἄπιστοι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρός ἀβλαβεῖς. »

43. Le gouverneur supplie les martyrs de lui rendre son fils.

Κελεύσας δὲ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτοὺς στήναι οὕτως εἶπεν· « Ὡ ἀνέλπιστοι προαιρέσεις, δι' ὧν ὁ κόσμος τῆς¹ νεότητος ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον σπεύδει. Οὐκ οἶδα ποίᾳ ἐπιπόθῃ ἡλλοτριωμέναι ὑμῶν εἰσιν αἱ γνώμαι. Μεταστρέφῃτε ὅπῃ ποτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀθανάτοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κἀμνουσιν τοὺς αὐχένους ὑμῶν κἀμψατε. Εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλητε, ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων κατορθώσω τοῦτο ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἄνευ διωγμοῦ τῇ θρησκείᾳ τῇ ὑμετέρα σχολάζειν. Μόνον μοι τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν περιώσατε, ἵνα μὴ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ τῆς τοιαύτης ἡλικίας ὑπὸ πυρός ἀπανηθῇσεται. Ὡ ἀκρόστε αἰσχύνῃ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ στήθει· τίνα πρῶτον θρηνήσω; Εἰς τὰ πάντων γὰρ εὐπρεπῇ σώματα ἀτενίζων, υἱέ μου γλυκύτατε, τὸν σὸν δόδρυγμαὶ χαρακτῆρα. Ὡ Ἰουλιανέ, πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιε, πῶς πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ σουτοῦ ἔλκεῖς εἰς θάνατον; Πῶς ὁ υἱὸς ἀθροῦμένος τὸν πατέρα οὐδὲ τὴν μητέρα γινώσκει; Κἂν πρὶν ἢ τελευτήσῃς, υἱέ μου, ἐρημάτων ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου τοῦ γλυκυτάτου ἀκούσω. Ἰδοὺ ἐλεύσεται σου ἡ μήτηρ, ἣτις τοῦ οἴκειου τοκετοῦ τοὺς πόρους τούτους οὐς οὐχ² ἡλπιζεν εὐρίσκει· καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δούλων, οἵτινες ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ ἔχαιρον, ἡλθον ἐκτελέσοντας τῷ πένθει σου κηδεῖαν. »

¹ ἡμᾶς D. — ² μάθωμεν D. — ³ ἐβόων V. — ⁴ λυσίτριχοι D. — ⁵ οὐδὲ add. D. — ¹⁰ ἀναστάντων add. D. — ¹¹ post δῆ] hiat lacuna in D usque ad medium capitulum 47. — ¹² sic pro εἰδότες (cf. Lat. scientes).

43. — ¹ scripti, ἐπὶ V. — ² sic V.

44. Le jeune homme demande qu'on lui accorde une faveur, s'il sort indemne de l'épreuve du feu.

Ὁ δὲ σεβάσμιος νεανίσκος Κέ λ σ ι ο ς εἶπεν· « Θερνώσιν¹ σε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς²· ἡμᾶς γὰρ οὐς ὀρώσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν βαλίνοντας, διὰ τι θηροῦσιν; Ἡμεῖς γὰρ διελευσόμεθα διὰ τούτου τοῦ πυρός καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς φανοσόμεθα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τούτῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἄγωνα προσδεχομένῳ³. Τῶν δὲ δαιμόνων ὧν θησκαέετε καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων τῶν φθοροποιῶν ὧν λέγετε ὥσπερ εἰ καθαγιάτων καταφρονοῦμεν. » Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· « Αὐτῇ ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἡ ὑβριστικὴ τόλμα ἢ μὴ συγχωροῦσα ὑμᾶς ζῆν; » Ὁ μακάριος Κέ λ σ ι ο ς εἶπεν· « Πρὸς αὐτῆς⁴ σε τῆς ματαιότητος ἦν θησκαέεις ὀρκῶ ἵνα ᾧ σε⁵ αὐτῷ ἀδιστάκτῳ καρδίᾳ παρόσχῃς τῇ αἰτήσῃ μου πέρας. » Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· « Εἰ τι θέλεις αἰτησον. » Ὁ νεανίας εἶπεν· « Ὅτε με ἰδῇς μετὰ τὸ πῦρ ἀβλαβῆ, ἐπίτρεπον τῇ μητρὶ μου εἰλθεῖν πρὸς με καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπέρθεσίν μοι συγχωρήσῃς μετὰ ταύτης με βουλεύσασθαι δι' ἐν πρᾶγμα. Καὶ ὅπῃρ θελήσω εἰ συγχωρήσῃς μοι, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσεις. » Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ μήτηρ ἐπέκειτο γενέσθαι τοῦτο. Τότε ὁ ἀσεβὴς ἄρχων τυφλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου εἶπεν· « Εἰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρός ἀβλαβῆς ἐξέλθῃς, ὅπῃρ οὐ πιστεύω γενέσθαι, ᾧ ἐπιθυμεῖς ποιήσω. »

45. Le feu s'éteint, les martyrs chantent.

Τότε ὁ ἡγεμὼν, μὴ ὑποφέγων ἰδεῖν καίόμενον τὸν υἱόν, τὸν συγκαθέδρον κατέλιπεν ὀφείλοντα τὰς τῶν βασιλέων πληρωῶσαι κελύσεις· αὐτὸς δὲ, διαγρηξίας τὰ ἑμάτια αὐτοῦ, δόρυρόμενος ἔλεγεν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σχεδὸν τεθνεώσῃς εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀναστρέφειν. Ἰνεται δὲ πένθος μέγιστον, πάντων κοπτομένων· ἐθγήρουν γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δούλων τὸν δεσπότην· καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ παραμυθούμενος. Ὁ δὲ σύμπονος, τὸ ἐπιταχθὲν αὐτῷ πληρῶν, κελύει ἑκαστον τῶν ἄλγων εἰς λέβητα ἀποτεθῆναι. Ὁ δὲ ἄγιος Κέ λ σ ι ο ς, ὁ μηδέποτε ἐκ τοῦ πλευθοῦ τοῦ ἄγλιου Ἰουλιανοῦ χωρισθείς, εἰρήνῃ διδοὺς τῷ πατρὶ, πρὸς τὴν εὐτρεπισθεῖσαν κόλπον ἀπτόητος ἔσπενδεν. Κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ συγκαθέδρου

44. — ¹ scripti (cf. Lat. lugent), θηροῦσιν V. — ² ἑαυτοῖς V. — ³ τοῦ τὸν ἡ. δ. προσδεχομένου V. — ⁴ αὐτὴν V. — ⁵ σε ᾧ pro ᾧ σε V.

ὑποτεθῆναι τοῖς λέβησι πῦρ μετὰ κληματίδων καὶ στούπης, ἀνεκδ-
χάσεν ἡ πίσσα διὰ τῆς φλογὸς ὑψηλότερον δβελίσκου· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς πλῆθος ψαλλόντων ἀπῆχει ὡσανεὶ μία φωνὴ
ὑδάτων πολλῶν (40). Ἀναλωθέντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ κοιμισθέντος,
φαίνονται οἱ ἄγιοι ὡς χρυσοὶ ἡ ἀργυροὶ ἀπαστράπτων· καὶ τοιαύτη
ψαλμωδία ὕμνων ψάλλοντες· « Διηλθομεν διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος,
καὶ ἐξηγαγες ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀναψυχήν (41). » Καὶ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ τὸ καί-
μενον καὶ λαμπρὸν τῆς οικείας ἐπελάθετο δυνάμεως.

46. Discussion entre Marcien et Julien.

Ἠγγέλθη δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοὺς ἀγίους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφαινεσθαι.
Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ταύτην ἀφῆκεν τὴν φωνήν· « Ἰουλιανέ,
ὄρκω σε πρὸς τῷ θεῷ τῷ σῶ, ἵνα μοι εἴπῃς πόθεν τὴν τηλικαύτην
τῶν κακουργιῶν δύναμιν ἐξέμαθες. » Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς
<εἶπεν>· « Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὠρκισσας με, ὅστις <ἐστὶν ὁ>
τούτων τῶν θαυμασίων ἀρχηγός, <ἀνοίσω¹ δ> δύναταί τις ἀξιω-
θῆναι μαθεῖν ὁ ἐπιθυμῶν· ἐάν τις ὥσπερ ἐγώ
δῆς τῆς ἀγίας ἀρχῆς ἐάν τις σπεύσῃ ἵνα ἐκ
αἰῶνος τούτου γένηται ἀλλότριος τῆς φωνῆς
τοῦ δεσπότη ἀκούσει ἀπᾶν <γέλλοντας> καὶ λέγοντος· « Ὁ θέλων

ὅπως μου ἐλθεῖν ἀγρησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι (42) », ἵνα μὴδὲν προτυμῇσθαι <τῆς ἀγάπης>
τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴδὲ ἄλλα ἐπιτιοθήσῃ εἰ μὴ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ δεσπότης ἐπαγγέ-
λεται καὶ ἵνα μὴ σκοπῇ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τέκνα. Ἵνα λοιπὸν ἴσασιν
οἱ αἰσθανόμενοι, ὑπὲρ πάντα δὲ ὅστις τὰς τῶν πενήτων φροντί-
δας ἀναδέχεται, ὅτινες ἀγρυπνοῦνται πεινῶν ἵνα ἄλλους θάλλουσιν.²
Πάνυ γὰρ εὐπρόσδεκτον τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶν δῶρον ὅτε πένης κορέννυται,
ὅτε ὀργὴ οὐκ ἐκτελεῖται καὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ οὐκ ἀποδίδεται, ὅτε
κόσμος ὀργῆς μὴ φυλάττεται καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀνεξικακίας ὁ μὴ ἀνε-
ξίκακος ὑπερνικᾶται, ὅστις³ οὐ λέγεται ἄγιος πρὶν ἢ γένηται,
ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθέστερον λεχθεῖν· πολλοὶ γὰρ λέγονται ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν,
καὶ αὐτῇ μόνῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἀμέλγημοι γίνονται, ἐπειδὴ λέγονται ὁ οὐκ

46. —¹ Lat. referam. —² sic V. —³ an pro dte?

(40) Cl. Apoc. 1, 15.

(42) Cl. Matth. 16, 24.

(41) Ps. 65, 12.

εἰσὶν καὶ γίνονται νωχελεῖς εἰς τὸ κάμνειν, ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν πλάστως
λέγεται. Οἵτινες ἀληθῶς ἄγιοί εἰσιν καὶ οὐ λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν
ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶσεως καὶ χάριτος πεπληρωμένοι ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γνωρίζεσθαι οὐ θέλουσιν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἐκείνου
δέξωνται τὸν μισθὸν ὃς οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν οὗτοι. Ταύτην τὴν τέχνην
ἐμαθον καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι ἐς, ἀλλὰ αἰωνίως
μετὰ τοῦ δεσπότη ἀξιουῦντες ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον διδάχθέντες
ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ δῶρον τὸ αὐτοῖς δοθὲν ἑα-
ντες· ἔπειτα τὸν πλησίον καὶ ἀλη-
θεῖς οἰκοδόμοι. οἱ αὐτοῖς ὕβρεις ἀντὶ ἐπαί <γὰρ>
ταῖς οἱτινες ἑαυτοὺς καιρὸν ἀδικίας τρουν,

οἱτινες φιλοποιοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ἵον προσφύγουσι τῷ θεῷ,
οἱτινες τὴν <ταπεινὴν> φροσύνην ἔχουσιν, ἡ τις ἐστὶν στήριγ-
μα <πάντων> τῶν καλῶν. » Μα ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν·
« Καὶ τίς οὕτως ἀνόητός ἐστιν ὅστις ταύτης τῆς ζωῆς τὴν χάριν
ἐκφεύγει καὶ πρὸς τὴν τηλικαύτην ὕβριν ἑαυτὸν ἐπικλίνει ἥν
ὕμεις ὑπομένετε; » Ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Ὁ θεὸς πᾶσιν
ἐτοιμός ἐστιν διδόναι τὰ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι ἑαυτοὺς
ἀξίους παρέχουσι τοῦ λαβεῖν. » Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· « Ἢ πρὸς σέ
ὁμίλια μοι τέλος ἔχεται. » Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἀεὶ
εὐχόμαι. Τί γάρ μοι τὸ ὄφελος εἰς πῆθον τετριμμένον ἀντλεῖν;
ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ ἐπιστεύθη τάλαντον δεῖ με παραματεύασθαι (43),
ἵνα οἱ ἀκούοντές μου σωθῶσιν. »

47. Entrevue de Celsius et de sa mère.

Τότε ὁ ἡγεμὼν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἴδιον εἶπεν· « Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου·
ὡς ἤτησας, τριήμερον ἔχεις μετ' αὐτῆς διωγίαν. Αὕτη γὰρ πρὸς
πάντα σοὶ ἐτοίμη ἐστὶν σὺν , ἵνα μὴ σε τὸν μονογενῆ καὶ γλυ-
κύτατον τέκνον ἀπολέσῃ¹. » Ὁ ἄγιος Κέλσιος² εἶπεν· « Ἐν ταύταις
ταῖς ῥησὶν ἡμέραις ἐν αἷς παρεχώρησάς μοι τὴν μητέρα, οὐκ ἔσται τιμὴ
μεσιτεῦσαι μετὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ αὐτῆς. » Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· « Ὡς θέλεις παρα-
χωρῶ σοι. » Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλεισθῆναι ἐν ἰδιαιότητι φρουρᾶ. Οἱ
δὲ λοιποὶ ἄγιοι μάστιγες ἀποκλείονται ἐν τῇ πολιτικῇ φυλακῇ πλησίον.

47. —¹ hinc iterum adest D. —² Κέλσιος D.

(43) Cl. Matth. 25, 15; Luc. 19, 13.

Οἱ δὲ ἄγιοι, ἐξελλοθόντες <πρὸς τὴν...> γυναῖκα³, ταύτην τὴν προσευχὴν ἐπέχεαν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισταγῆναι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ἁγίου Κελσίου⁴ πρὸς πίστιν ἀληθείας· « Δέσποτα ὁ Θεός, ὅστις προγινώσκεις τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ τὰ παγελλόμενα ὡς παρόντα ὁρᾷς, ὃς ἀποδέχῃ γυνάμας ἀληθινὰς καὶ οὐ λαμβάνεις πρὸς ὁσῶπον ἀνθρώπου, οὐ τέλειται μετέλθαι καὶ κἀλ- λει σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ εἰς βέθλη καρδίας ὁρᾷς, σὺ, δέσποτα, τοὺς ὀρθολομοὺς τῆς καρδίας καὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνοίξαι καταξίωσον καὶ εὐηχοδοέ- κτον ποιήσον ταύτην ἐξ ἧς ἔλαβες τὸν καρπὸν ἐφ' ᾧ χαίρεις⁵. »

48. Elle sent et admire un parfum surnaturel.

Εὐθύς¹ δὲ ἐκινήθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν· καὶ λαμπηδὼν λαμπροτέρα ἀγνύρου ἐφάνη καὶ ἡ εἰωθυῖα ὁσμὴ τοῖς ἁγίοις παρεγγένητο καὶ φωνὴ ψαλλόντων ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἀντήχει². « Ἀληθῶς³ ὁ Θεὸς εὐσεβῆς ὁ δικαίων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἀμαρτωλὰς⁴. » Ταῦτα ἡ γυνὴ ἀκούουσα τε καὶ ὁρῶσα⁵ ἔβόα· « Οὐδέποτε ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς μου τοιαύ- την εὐώδη ὁσμὴν εὗρον, οὐδὲ ἐν⁶ εὐτεγρέσι⁷ κήποις κλίνων καὶ ῥοδῶν⁸ καὶ κρόκου οὐδὲ⁹ βαλσάμου καὶ νάρδου. Οὕτως γὰρ αὕτη ἡ καλὴ ὁσμὴ ἀνεκτήσατό με ὥστε τῶν πόνων¹⁰ πάντων ἐπλήσιν μοι ὑπομεῖναι¹¹ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο μέλλειν γινώσκειν¹² ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου εἰ μὴ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀληθινόν¹³ Θεόν, ὑπὲρ οὗ ὁ ἐμὸς νιὸς ἀγωνί- ζεται. »

49. Elle se convertit.

Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τοιαῦτα λέγει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα· « Μακάριον δένδρον ἐν τοῖς πιστεύ- ουσιν εὐέλαιον· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ λατρός ὁ τὴν σὴν ἐπιδεικνύ- μενος ὕψειαν, ὥστε μὴ δεύτερον τῶν τραυμάτων φροντίζειν. » Ὁ δὲ ἁγιος

παῖς Κέλσιος¹ εἶπεν· « Ἀληθῶς νῦν ἀληθὴ σε μητέρα γινώσκω καὶ οὔτε σὺ ἀπώλεσας τὸν νιὸν οὔτε ἐγὼ τὴν μητέρα· μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ² ἐπὶ τὸ ὄντων τοῦ Χρι- στοῦ, ὑπὲρ οὗ οἱ ἄγιοι τὰ τηλικαῦτα ὑπομένουσιν. » Ἡ δὲ σεβασμὰ γυνὴ ἥσ- τως τὰ ἐνδότεστα τῆς³ καρδίας ἡ θεία χάρις ἐφώτισεν⁴, ἀποκρίνεται τῷ νιῷ καὶ λέγει· « Ἐπὶ γυναικας, ὧ⁵ νιέ μου⁶, μηδὲν προτιμῶσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τούτου ὃν σὺ ἀγαπᾷς· διοίπεθ, εἰ τι ἤποτε οἶδας συμπεθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν, ἐκτέλεσον. » Ὁ σεβάσμιος παῖς ἀποκρίνεται· « Ἡ⁷ ἔκ καρ- δίας πίστις γίνεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἡ ἔκ στόματος ὁμολογία πρὸς⁸ σωτηρίαν. Τοῦτο δὲ λείπει σοι ἵνα κάθασιν⁹ βαπτίσματος δέξῃ, δι' οὗ δυνήθῃς οἰκητήριον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκτελεσθῆναι. » Ἡ γυνὴ ἀπό- κρίνεται· « Ἰδοὺ ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ κλεῖθρα συνέχει¹⁰ καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν σιγαλιωτῶν περικλείει, ὥστε μήτε ἐξόδῳ μήτε εισόδῳ εἶναι ἄδεια¹¹· καὶ πῶς εὐχόμεν τοιοῦτον ἀνθρώπον ὁποῖόν μοι ὑποτίθῃ; » Ὁ ἁγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Ἐνταῦθα ἔχομεν ἄγιον καὶ ἀληθινόν¹² λέξια Χριστοῦ, ὅστις σε καθαρῶς¹³· μόνον¹⁴ ἔκ καρδίας ἀπεργησάι τοὺς Θεοὺς τῆς σῆς πατρίδος, ἵνα ἐν ἐν¹⁵ θεῷ πιστεύσῃς, ὃς βασι- λεύει ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ εἰς ἐν τριῶν καὶ ἡ¹⁶ τριῶν ἐν ἐνότητι, οὕτως διὰ τῆς βασιλείας βασιλεύουσιν ἄρχοντες, δι' οὗ τῆς χάρι- τος βεβαιούνται οἱ ἡγεμόνες; τῷ λόγῳ¹⁷ τρέμουνσι τὰ ἔθνη, δι' οὗ τῆς¹⁸ σοφίας φρόνιμοι γίνονται ἀνθρώποι, οὕτως τῇ προστάξει καλύπτονται οἱ οὐρανοὶ τοῖς νέφεσιν, οὕτως τῇ βουλῇ δέχεται ἡ γῆ ὑετόν, οὕτως τῇ δαυεῖ¹⁹ γίνεται ἡ γῆ¹⁸ γόνιμος, δι' οὗ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεννᾶται. Αὐτὸς ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός¹⁹ ὁ πατήρ ἐν²⁰ νιῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ λαμπρότητος φωτίζονται οἱ τυφλοὶ, αἱ σκοτίαι²¹ τῆς ἀπιστίας φυγαδεύονται²². τῷ νεύματι αὐτοῦ πάντα κυβεργᾶται²³. τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλῇσι πάν- τα²⁴ ἐγενήθη²⁵. » Ταῦτα ἀκούουσα²⁶ ἡ γυνὴ εἶπεν· « Ὅστις ταῦτα οὐ πιστεύει σιδηροῦν ἔχει στῆθος²⁷ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων αἰσθησιν ἀλλὰ θεεμάτων ἔχει²⁸. » Τότε πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι ἡὐχαρίστησαν τῷ δεσπότη τῷ ἀξιώσαντι ἀπὸ στομάτων λύκων πρῶτον ἀπολωλὸς σῶσαι. Ἰπρὸς τὴν πάλιν ὁ ἁγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· « Οὕτως πιστεύεις

49. —¹ Κέλσιος D. —² « vadis », —³ τοῦ V. —⁴ ...μεν V. —⁵ με D. —⁶ om. D. —⁷ om. V. —⁸ ἡ ἐκ στ. δ. πρ. om. V. —⁹ κάθασαις D. —¹⁰ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντας τὰ κλ. συνήχθη D. —¹¹ καθάγει D. —¹² δὲ add. D. —¹³ (ἐν ἐν) τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ μόνῳ ἀληθινῷ D. —¹⁴ om. D. —¹⁵ (ἡγ. τ. λ.) ἡγούμενοι τοῦ λόγου καὶ D. —¹⁶ (δι' οὗ τῆς) διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ D. —¹⁷ (ο. τ. δ.) καὶ τ. δ. αὐτοῦ D. —¹⁸ ἡ γῆ om. D. —¹⁹ ὁ θ. δ. X. om. D. —²⁰ σὺν D. —²¹ (αἱ σ.) καὶ ἡ σκοτία D. —²² φυγαδεύ- εται D. —²³ om. D. —²⁴ om. D. —²⁵ καὶ πάντα τῷ αὐτοῦ νεύματι κυβεργᾶ- ται add. D. —²⁶ ἀκούσασα D. —²⁷ (σ. ἐ σ.) λιβήνην ἔ. καρδίαν D. —²⁸ om. D.

3 (ἐξ. - γ.) om. D. —⁴ Κέλσιος D. —⁵ (ἐφ' ᾧ χ.) καὶ χαίρεις ἐπ' αὐτῷ D. 48. —¹ εὐθέως D. —² ἡκούετο D. —³ om. D. —⁴ (εὐσ. - ἀ.) ἀγαθὸς ὢν δικαιοὶ τὰς ψ. τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν διὰ τῆς μετανοίας D. —⁵ ἀκούσασα καὶ ἰδοῦσα D. —⁶ om. D. —⁷ ἐπτεγρέσι D. —⁸ καὶ ἰων add. D. —⁹ κρόκων καὶ D. —¹⁰ δένωνων (sic) D. —¹¹ ἐπλήσθηναί με D. —¹² (μ. γ.) ἐννοεῖσθαι D. —¹³ λο- γισμὸν add. del. V.

ὡς ἦκουσας ἔνα εἶναι θεὸν ἀληθῆ²⁹ τὸν ὄντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐν ὁμοουσίῳ τριάδι· » Ἡ γυνὴ ἀποκρίνεται· « Αὐτὸν³⁰ πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι θεόν, ὃν διὰ τοῦ σοῦ ἔργων³¹ κηρύγματος, ὃς³² βεβαίοις ὄροις τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπηξεν, ὅστις ἐβηκεν ὄρους οὐδ' οὐ παρέρχεται³³, ὃς ὕψωσεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοῦτον λαμπηδόσιν διαφύρων ἀστέρων³⁴ διεκόςμησεν, ὃς τὸν ἥλιον διηνεκεί ἐθμελίωσεν φωτὶ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος σελήην κατέστησεν. Αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός, εἰς ὃν πιστεύω, πάσης καταλειφθείσης ματαιότητος³⁴, ἐπιθυμοῦσα ταύτης τῆς προσκαίρου ζωῆς στερηθῆναι, ἵνα ἐκείνης τῆς αἰωνίας³⁵ ἀξιωθῶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν. »

50. Elle est baptisée.

Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γυναικός, σύντρομος ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν καὶ φωνὴ ἠκούσθη ἐν τῷ ἀέρι λέγουσα· « Ἐπίστευσα¹. δι' ὃ ἐλάλησα² (44). » Ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς λεχθείσης, πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι εἶπον· « Ἀμήν. » Ἰαὶ τότε ὁ μακάριος Ἰαντὼν³ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐβόησεν τὴν γυναικα· ἦν ὁ μακάριος υἱὸς αὐτῆς Κέλσος⁴ ἀνεδέξατο, πατὴρ αὐτῆς γεγονὼς ἐν τῷ βαπτισματι. Πάντων δὲ χαϊρόντων περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς, ἠκούσθη φωνὴ λέγουσα· « Ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ κραταιοῦσθε ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν (45) ἐν κυρίῳ. » Μετὰ ταύτην⁵ τὴν φωνὴν ἔφη ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους· « Αὕτη ἡ φωνὴ ἡ περικτυπήσασα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν προαγγέλλει ἡμῖν τὰ μέλλοντα παθήματα καὶ τὰ εἶδη τῶν βασάνων ἅτινα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνθυμεῖται ὁ ἐχθρός. Δι' ὅπερ⁶, ἄγιοι μάρτυρες, τῆς πίστεως τὸν δρόμον⁷ τῆς ἡμετέρας τῷ θεῷ παραβώμεθα, ὃς δύναιται τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν φυλάξαι καὶ τὸν δρόμον τελειῶσαι, ἵνα τὸν ἀποκείμενον τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανον (45*) ἀξιωθῶμεν λαβεῖν. »

²⁹ (θ. ἀ.) ἀληθινὸν θ. D. — ³⁰ αὐτῷ D. — ³¹ ἐγνώκειν D. — ³² (ὃς - π.) om. D. — ³³ (λ. δ. ἀ.) διαφόροις φωστῆρσιν D. — ³⁴ (ὃς τὸν ἥλιον - μ.) ὅστις θάλασσαν ἐτέλιεν ψάμμω ὄρους αὐτῇ θέμενος καὶ οὐ παρέρχεται, ὃς τὴν γῆν ἐθμελίωσεν ἐπὶ τῶν υἰάτων καὶ ταύτην διαφόροις φωτοῖς ἐκαλῶπισεν· πιστεύω οὖν εἰς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν, πάσαν καταλιποῦσα ματαιότητα καὶ D. — ³⁵ αἰωνίου D. 50. — ¹ εἰ πιστεύεις D. — ² ἐλάλησας D, qui add. γενηθήτω τὰ ἔήματά σου. — ³ ἦν ὁ σεβάσμιος αὐτῆς υἱὸς Κελεσίος D. — ⁴ δέ add. D. — ⁵ αὐτοῦ add. D. — ⁶ οἱ add. D. — ⁷ τὸν δρ. post τῆς ἡμ. D.

(44) 2 Cor. 4, 13.
(45*) Cl. 2 Tim. 4, 7-8.

51. Colère de Marcien.

Τινὺς δὲ ὁ ἀσεβὴς Μαρκεῖαν¹ τὴν γυναικα αὐτοῦ κοινω-
νὸν γενομένην τῶν μαγύρων καὶ βεβαιωθείσαν τῷ πόθῳ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ, κελύει ἀχθῆναι τοὺς μάρτυρας· καὶ ἀτενίσας αὐτοῖς
ἔφη πρὸς τὸν υἱόν· « Τὴν μητέρα τὴν σὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἤτησας ἵνα σοὶ
συναινέσῃ. Οὐκ εἰδότε¹ δέ μοι² τὰ νῦν παραχθέντα ἀπάγγελόν
μοι³, ἐπειδὴ γινῶναι ἐπιθυμῶ. » Ὁ παῖς ἀποκρίνεται· « Εὐχαρι-
στῶ τῷ δεσπότη τῷ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς προαιρέσεώς μου τελειώσαντι,
ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κτήσωμαι τὴν μητέρα, καὶ αὐτῇ⁴ ἐμέ κτήσεται⁵
υἱόν. Ἀπὸ ταύτης⁶ τῆς ἡμέρας γινῶμι, ἡγεμών, ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰς
Χριστὸν πόθου⁷ καταφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς ταύτης τῆς⁸ ζωῆς. Δι' ὅπερ
οὔτε ἐγὼ σε οἶδα πατέρα οὔτε αὐτὴ⁹ ἄνδρα. » Τότε ὀργῆς πληρω-
θεὶς ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν¹⁰ τὴν γυναικα συσχεθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὸν
οἶκον ἀπαχθῆναι. Ἐγγιζόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν¹¹ τῶν ὑπηγετῶν
καὶ θελησάντων αὐτῆς ἄσπασθαι¹², ἐγένοντο τυφλοί. Ταῦτα δὲ ὀρώων
ὁ Μαρκεῖαν¹³ καὶ¹⁴ τυφλωθεὶς ἐκ¹⁵ τοῦ διαβόλου κελύει
πάντας εἰς τὴν κατωτάτην φυλακὴν ἀποκλεισθῆναι.

52. Les vingt soldats et les sept frères sont livrés au feu.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς
εἰκοσι στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοὺς
ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὺς τῷ πυρὶ παραδοθῆναι. Ἐκείνων δὲ τὸ μαρτύριον
πληρωσάντων ἐν εὐχῇ, Ἰουλιανὸν μετὰ¹ Ἀντῶν² τοῦ
πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν καὶ τὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνα-
στάντα τῇ οἰκίᾳ κλίσαι ἐφύλαξεν.

53. Le gouverneur interroge le prêtre Antoine.

Καὶ καθεσθείς ἐν τῷ φόρῳ κελύει τὸν μακάριον Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγίους¹ τοὺς λεχθέντας παγεῖναι. Καταθεμένης δὲ
τῆς τάξεως τούτους παγεῖναι², ὁ Μαρκεῖαν³ ὁ υἱὸς οὕτως ᾔρξατο³.

51. — ¹ ἰδόντι D. — ² ἐμοὶ D. — ³ om. D. — ⁴ αὕτη D. — ⁵ κτήσεται τὸν D. — ⁶ γὰρ add. D. — ⁷ ὑπὲρ τὸν εἰς Χρ πόθον post ζωῆς D. — ⁸ om. V. — ⁹ οὐδέ αὕτη D. — ¹⁰ κελύει D. — ¹¹ (πρ. α.) αὐτῇ D. — ¹² οὔτοι εὐθέως add. D. — ¹³ om. D. — ¹⁴ ὑπὸ D. 53. — ¹ om. D. — ² (Καταθ. - π.) om. D. propter homeoteleuton. — ³ λέγειν add. D.

« Μετά σοῦ, Ἰουλιανέ, ἀνάξιον ἡγοῦμαι εἰπεῖν. » Καί προσέθη-
 κεν¹. « Σὺ εἰ Ἀντὼνιος δυνάστης ἴδιον οὗτοι ὁμολογοῦσιν;
 Ἀποδέδεικται² σε εἶναι ταύτης τῆς μαγικῆς τέχνης ἀρχηγόν. »
 Ὁ μακάριος Ἀντὼνιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος εἶπεν· « Εὐχα-
 ριστῶ τῷ δεσπότη³ Χριστῷ, ὅστις⁴ ταύτης τῆς χάριτος ἐμέ τὸν
 ἀνάξιον ἐποίησεν εἶναι ὑπηρέτην. » Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· « Σὺ οὖν,
 Ἀντὼνιε, εἰπέ τίς⁵ ἐστὶν ἡ μαγεία ἡ ὑμετέρα, ὥστε χωρί-
 ζειν συζυγίας⁶ καὶ υἱοὺς ἀπὸ γονέων, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰς περι-
 ουσίας τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὰς⁷ ἐκμοιγῶν δεδορημένας ἀπαρνεῖσθαι καὶ
 φεύγειν πείθετε⁸. δι' ὧν οἱ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ βλασφημοῦνται. Τίς
 τοίνυν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὑμετέρα τόλμα⁹, εἰπέ μοι, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ στόματός
 σου ἀκούσας γνώσωμαι πῶς¹⁰ ὑμῖν καὶ ταῖς μαγείαις ταῖς ὑμετέ-
 ραις¹¹ τέλος ἐπιθήσω. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἰσχύσατε πρὸς τὸ ἀπαρῆσαι
 τὸν δῆμον ὥστε μεγαλαυχεῖν¹² ὅτι νεκρὸν ἡγείσασθε¹³. καὶ ἐδε-
 λεύσατε πολλοὺς ἀναιτίους. » Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος πρε-
 σβύτερος εἶπεν· « Ἡὐχόμην μὲν ἵνα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ἀγῶνος
 τούτου τοῦ ἡμετέρου Ἰουλιανὸν προσεκαλέσω, ἵνα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπό-
 κρισιν¹⁴ ἐδέξω· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἐστὶν δεσπότης Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ
 κινῶν τὰ ὄργανα τῆς κακίας ἡμῶν, ἃ ἡρώτησας ἀκουσον νῦν
 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας ὡς λέγεις
 μαγείας ταύτην ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν τὴν παραγγελίαν ἵνα μὴ τοὺς πολυτι-
 μήτους μαργαρίτας τοῖς χοίροις βάλλωμεν (46), ὅς εἶπεν· « Οὐκ
 ἦλθον εἰσάγειν πέμψαι¹⁵ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν· ἦλθον γὰρ
 υἱὸν χωρίσαι¹⁶ ἐκ πατρὸς (47) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ· καὶ πάλιν¹⁷ ἐν ἄλλῳ
 τόπῳ ἀκολούθως λέγει· « Ὁ ἐμοῦ προσημῶν ἡ πατέρα ἡ μητέρα¹⁸,
 ἡ γυναῖκα ἡ τέκνα, ἡ χρυσὸν ἡ ἀργυρὸν, ἡ οἶκον¹⁹ ἡ ἀγροὺς οὐ δύ-
 νатаί ἐμός²⁰ εἶναι μαθητῆς (48) ». Ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ἀκούων ὁ υἱὸς
 ὁ σὸς οὐ προετίμησέν σε²¹ τὸν σαματικὸν πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 πατρὸς²². Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἦν λέγεις γυναῖκά σου, γνοῦσα αὐτὴ²³

¹ οὐκ δέξιον D. — ² τε add. D. — ³ σιγαφεῖς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον
 ἔφη D. — ⁴ om. D. — ⁵ οὕτω δέδεικται D. — ⁶ Ἰησοῦ add. D. — ⁷ ὅτι
 D. — ⁸ τί D. — ⁹ συζυγίαν D. — ¹⁰ (κ. τ.) τῆς D. — ¹¹ om. D. —
¹² τολμή D. — ¹³ ὅπως μὴ D. — ¹⁴ (μ. τ. ὡ.) ὡ. μ. D. — ¹⁵ μεγάλη σκεῖν V.
 — ¹⁶ ἐγείρατε D. — ¹⁷ (ἀπ' α. ἀπόκη) ἀπόκη. ἐξ α. D. — ¹⁸ (εἰς. π.) βαλεῖν
 εἰς. D. — ¹⁹ (ὡ. κ.) κ. ὡ. D. — ²⁰ κ. π. om. V. — ²¹ (ἡ π. ἡ μ.) π. D. — ²² ἡ χρ.
 ἡ ἀ. ἡ ο. om. D. — ²³ μου D. — ²⁴ om. V ex haplographia. — ²⁵ τοῦ π. τ. χρ.
 D. — ²⁶ αὐτὴ D.

(46) Cf. *Matth.* 7, 6.
 (48) Cf. *Luc.* 14, 26 et 33.

(47) Cf. *Matth.* 10, 34-35.

τοῦ δεσπότη τὴν φωνήν, κατεφρόνησέν σου τοῦ φθαγτοῦ³⁰ καὶ
 τῆς³¹ προσκαίρου κοίτης, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἀθανάτου Χριστοῦ ἀνα-
 παύσεως³² ἀξιωθῇ. Ἰδοὺ³³, ἡγεμὼν, οὐδὲν σαφέστερον δύνη³⁴
 γνῶναι. » Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κελεύει αὐτοὺς εἰς
 τὴν φυλακὴν ἀπαχθῆναι³⁵ λέγων· « Σκέψομαι τιμωρίας δι' ὧν
 οὗτοι ἀπολοῦνται. »

54. On ouvre le temple de Zeus.

Καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ καλέσας¹ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ ναοῦ εἶπεν πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς· « Κοσμήσατε τὸν σεβάσμιον τοῦ Διὸς ναόν, ὃν ἔθος
 ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς τοῦ ἔτους ἀνοίγεσθαι, ὅπου εἰσὶν τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ
 Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκ καθαροῦ
 γενόμενα ἡλέκτρον, οἷς² ὁ ἡδύτατος Ἑρως τὰς τέχνης
 ὑπουρεῖ. Καὶ ἐτοιμάσατε τὰς³ σπονδὰς καὶ τὰ⁴ θυμιάματα. »
 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἡτοίμασαν τὰς ἐξ ἔθους θυσίας. Καὶ
 τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνοίγεις τοῦ ναοῦ διὰ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων γενέθλιον,
 ἔσαν τὸ πλῆθος συνελθόν ἐθαύμαζεν. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἔργον
 τῆς κατασκευῆς ὥστε οὐ μαγμάτῳ ἀλλ' ἀργύρῳ τοὺς τοίχους⁵
 ἀποδάπτειν· χρυσῷ δὲ⁶ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ μαργαρίταις καὶ λίθοις
 τιμίοις ἐξέλαμπον αἱ ἀψίδες.

55. Julien et Antoine sont invités à sacrifier.

Εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἀρχὼν εἰς τὸν ναόν, τοὺς ἀγίους τοῦ θεοῦ¹ κελεύ-
 σας ἀχθῆναι εἶπεν· « Ἰδοὺ νῦν, Ἰουλιανέ καὶ Ἀντὼνιε,
 καιρὸς ἦλθεν ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ σὺν ὑμῖν σωτηρίας ἀξιωθῆτε². Ἐγὼ
 γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπελεξάμην³ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ἵνα ἐν τούτῳ
 τῷ φρικτῷ⁴ ναῷ λιβάνους τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀθανάτοις προσοῖσαι⁵.
 Εἰ δέ⁶ ἐν τῇ μονοτονίᾳ ὑμῶν ἀπομείνητε⁷ ἀπαρνούμενοι τούτους
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔως νῦν ἐφεισάμην ὑμῶν, διαφόρους βασάνους εἰς ὑμᾶς

³⁰ θνητοῦ D. — ³¹ om. D. — ³² αἰωνίου add. D. — ³³ Τούτων ὧν εἶπον D.
 — ³⁴ δύνησθ D. — ³⁵ ἀπενεχθῆναι D.

54. — ¹ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν add. D. — ² οἶος D. — ³ om. — ⁴ om. D. — ⁵ καὶ τὴν
 στήλην add. D. — ⁶ om. V.

55. — ¹ τοὺς ἀ. τ. θ. post ἀχθῆναι D. — ² ἀξιωθῶσιν V. — ³ (Ἐγὼ - ἐπ.)
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπ. D. — ⁴ τῶν θεῶν add. D. — ⁵ λίβανον τοῖς ἀθ. θ. προσοίσαστε D.
 — ⁶ ἐτι add. D. — ⁷ ἐπιμείνητε D.

ἐκγυμνάσω. Δι' ὅπερ, Ἰουλιανέ, ἐπειδὴ σὺ ἀρχηγὸς εἰ τοῦτο τοῦ μύσου, προσελθὼν ἐξιλέωσαι σαυτῷ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀθανάτους¹, δι' ὧν ἀποκατασταθῇσι τῷ σῶ γένει².» Ὁ δὲ¹⁰ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς ἀπεκρίνατο· «Ὁὐ σὺ, ἡγεμὼν, ὥρισας μὴ διαλεχθῆναι μετ' ἐμοῦ; Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἔγνων ἀληθῆ τὸν καιρὸν εἰς ὃν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἠθέλησας σῶσαι καὶ τὰ θεῖα¹¹ σου τιμῆσαι, ποιήσον πάντας τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν ἕσω παρῆναι, ἵνα γνώσωνται ποίαν ἱερουργίαν προσφέρωμεν.¹² Καὶ προσέθηκεν ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ εἶπεν¹³· «Χαίροις, κάλλιστε ἡγεμὼν, ὁ οὕτως εὐπρόσδεκτον δόξαν¹⁴ ἡμῖν παρέχων¹⁵, ὅτι πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροισι κελύεις με θύειν, ὅπερ οὐκ ὀκνήσομεν ποιῆσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπερεθέμεθα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ θαυμασίῳ ναῷ τούτῳ ἐπιθύσωμεν. Τότε γὰρ χαίρει ὁ τὸ συμπόσιον εὐτρεπίζων, ὅτε¹⁶ χαίρουνσι οἱ συμπόται, ἵνα μηδεμία εὐωχία παρέλθῃ¹⁷ τῶν εὐτρεπισθέντων.»

56. Délîés de leurs chaines, les martyrs entrent dans le temple.

Τότε ὁ ἄρχων, μὴ νοήσας πῶς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, εἶπεν· «Χαίρω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς¹ εἰ καὶ βραδέως² ὅτι οὐκ ἀποθήσασθε³ τὸ γλυκύτατον φῶς τὸ πάντων πεπληρωμένον τῶν⁴ ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ θύειν⁵ τοῖς θεοῖς.⁶ Τότε ὁ δικαστὴς κελύει ἀραιγεθῆναι⁷ πάντων τὰ δεσμά, λέγων· «Ἀισχρὸν ἔστιν τοῖς τοῖς⁸ δεσμοῖς κρατεῖσθαι οἷς οἱ θεοὶ ἡρξάντο εὐσεβεῖς γενέσθαι.» Ἐνόμειεν γὰρ ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἃ ἥκουσεν. Αὐθέντων δέ⁹ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς ἐδέδεκτο⁸, εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν σεβάσμιον παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ· «Προσέλθετε καὶ ἐξιλέώσασθε ὑμῖν τοὺς θεοὺς οἷς¹⁰ ἕως νῦν ἐδουλεύσατε.» Ὤτιμι ἡ σεβασμία¹¹ γυνὴ εἶπεν· «Μὴ ποιήσῃ με ὁ ἀληθινὸς¹² θεὸς ὃν ἔγνων περαιτέρω σοὶ λαλῆσαι [ἢ ὁ λέγεις ἀγνοῶν¹³]. Ἐγνων γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπ' ἧς οὐδέποτε ἀναχωρήσω.» Τότε ὁ ἡγεμὼν μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν εἶπεν· «Ἰδοὺ πάντα ἡτοιμάσθη. Πληρώσατε ἃ ἐπηγγέλασθε.» Ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν· «Λοιπὸν ὧρα ἔστιν ἐν ἣ πάντων δρόν-

⁸ ἐξ. ἐαυτῷ τοὺς ἀθ. θ. D. — ⁹ (σφ γ.) γ. σου D. — ¹⁰ om. D. — ¹¹ τοὺς θεοὺς D. — ¹² (κ. ε.) λέγων D. — ¹³ (ε. δ.) δ. ε. D. — ¹⁴ παρὰσχῶν D. — ¹⁵ τότε V. — ¹⁶ (εὐ. π.) π. εὐ. D.

56. — ¹ ὑμῖν D. — ² ὁμος γούν add. D. — ³ (οὐκ ἀ.) ἐποθήσασθε D. — ⁴ om. D. — ⁵ ὑμᾶς add. D. — ⁶ post δεσμά D. — ⁷ om. D. — ⁸ αὐτῶν add. D. — ⁹ (οἷς ἐ.) ὁ ἡγεμὼν D. — ¹⁰ οὗς V. — ¹¹ σεβάσμιος D. — ¹² ἀληθῆς D. — ¹³ ἢ ὁ λ. ἀ. om. D.

των ἐνδοξοὶ φανησόμεθα.» Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· «Ἔστιν, εἰ θέλετε, σωτηρίας ἐπιτυχεῖν.» Ὁ δέ¹⁴ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν¹⁵ πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ· «Ἐγρίσωμεν, ἵνα σωτηρίας ἀξιώθωμεν· καὶ ἔσται εἰς γνώσιν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἰσομένου¹⁶ ἢ θυσία ἢ ποιήσομεν σήμερον.» Προγγούμενος δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἀγίους ἰδιωτικῇ φυλακῇ ἐλθεῖν¹⁷, νομίζων ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἃ ἠθέλεν. Εἰσελθόντες δὲ οἱ ἄγιοι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ μέτωπον ὥπλισαν. Τότε ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα εἶπεν· «Τί κελύεις, ἄρχων¹⁸; πᾶσιν προσφέρωμεν θυσίαν¹⁹;» Ὁ ἄρχων εἶπεν· «Ὁὐς ὀρθῶς πάντας²⁰ θεοὶ εἰσιν, ἴσοι τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὅμοιοι ἐν²¹ τῇ δόξῃ· οὐδὲ²² φθοροῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις τιμαῖς, μάλιστα ἐν ὑμῖν²³, οἵτινες βραδέως ἐπέγνωτε²⁴.»

57. Ils prient. Idoles et temple s'effondrent.

Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ ἄρχοντος, κλίναντες τὰ γόνατα ὁ τε ἄγιος Ἀντωνίος ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐταίρων εἶπον· «Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀναρχος καὶ ἄχρονος καὶ αἰώνιος κεκτημένος ὄνομα, ὃς οὐ χειροποιήτοις τέχνη¹, ὃν οὐ χωρεῖ ὁ κόσμος, ὃς ἀναπαύει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ κόσμου², ὁ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου εἰπὼν· Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων δαιμόνια (49), σὺ δὲ μόνος θεὸς³ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ τῇ σῇ σοφίᾳ ποιήσας τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν⁴, συναθροίσας τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τεθηκώς ὄρον ὃν οὐ παρελύσεται (50), ὃν τὰ κύματα τῇ οἰκείᾳ μαγμαρυγῇ ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὃν ποικίλων ὀρνέων εὐῆχοι φωναὶ ἡδέως αἰνοῦσαι γινώσκουσιν⁵, ὅστις ἐν τῇ βουλήσει⁶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ⁷ πάντα ἐποίησας, ἐπίβλεπον⁸ νῦν ἐν τῇ καταστροφῇ τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου· καὶ τὰ τοσαῦτα τῶν δαιμόνων ἀγάλλματα⁹ καὶ τῶν τούτοις θηρσκειν ὄντων τὴν τόλμαν κατὰκλᾶσον⁹, ἵνα εἰς μηδὲν περιστάσεων τούτων

¹⁴ om. D. — ¹⁵ post αὐτοῦ D. — ¹⁶ ἐχγομένου D. — ¹⁷ ἀπελθεῖν D. — ¹⁸ τί κ. ἀ. om. D. — ¹⁹ πᾶσι προσάξωμεν θ. ἡ τισιν; D. — ²⁰ (Ὁὐς δ. π.) πᾶσι· πάντες γὰρ D. — ²¹ om. D. — ²² οὐ γὰρ D. — ²³ (ἐν ὑ.) ἐξ ὑμῶν D. — ²⁴ αὐτοῖς add. D.

57. — ¹ τέχνηται D. — ² (ὃς - κ.) om. D. — ³ καὶ add. D. — ⁴ (ὃν τὰ κύμ. - γ.) om. D. — ⁵ διὰ τοῦ λόγου σου add. D. — ⁶ σου καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν add. D. — ⁷ ἐπί-νευσαν οὖν D. — ⁸ κατὰκλᾶσον add. D. — ⁹ ἀπάνισον D.

ἐν οἷς δοξάζονται¹⁰, σὲ μόνον ἐπιγνώσωνται· καὶ δοξασθήσονται ἐν σοὶ οἱ πιστεύοντες τῷ ὀνόματί σου καὶ¹¹ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ὃν γινώσκουσι συναιώνιον καὶ συναΐδιον¹² ἐν ἐνότητι πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων¹³. » Καὶ εἰπόντων πάντων¹⁴ τῶν χριστιανῶν τὸ ἀμήν, πάντα τὰ γλυπτὰ εἰς οὐδὲν περιέστη· ὁ δὲ ναὸς οὕτως ἐβυθίσθη ὥστε μὴ φαίνεσθαι· καὶ ὡσανεὶ¹⁵ χίλιοι [ἄνδρες¹⁷] ἱερεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ναοῦ κατεβυθίσθησαν· καὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐλ λ η ν ω ν ἄμα¹⁸ ἀπώλετο· πῦρ δὲ¹⁹ καίόμενον ἐν κείνῳ²⁰ τῷ τόπῳ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἐστίν²¹. Τότε ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς εἶπεν τῷ ἡγεμόνι· « Ποῦ εἰσιν αἱ χειροπολῆτοι εἰκόνες τῶν θεῶν σου²² ἐν αἷς ἐδοξάζου; Ποῦ τὸ ἥλεκτρον καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ ὠραιότης; Ποῦ οἱ τοῖχοι καὶ τὸ στέγασμα τὸ ἀργυρεῖον²³ καὶ τὰ πολυτίματα²⁴ μέταλλα²⁵; Ἐπικληθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ²⁶, εἰς γῆν ἀνέστρεψαν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ἡ κοιλία τῆς γῆς ἀναδέχεται²⁷, οὕτως καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς θρησκευτὰς τῶν δαιμόνων²⁸ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς²⁹ ἐστε διηνεκεστάτη³⁰ ἄβυσσος, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀκοίμητον³¹ καὶ ὁ σκώληξ ὁ κατεσθίων οὐ τελευτᾷ (51), ὅπου τὸ σῶμα ἀναγεννᾶται πρὸς τιμωρίαν³²· οὕτος³³ ὑμᾶς περιμένει ὁ τόπος ὁ εὐτρεπισθεῖς τῷ ἀρχηγῷ ὑμῶν τῷ διαβόλῳ³⁴. » Ταῦτα ἀκούων³⁵ ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· « Ὡ δύναμις μαγείας, ὦ ἐπωδὴ ἀνήκοος, οὕτως ἰσχύουσα³⁶ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῆς³⁷ γῆς κόλπους ἀνοίγειν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τηλικάυτα ἀγαθά³⁸. Λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐλεήσω, λοιπὸν οὐ φείσομαι πρὶν ἢ τούτους ξίφει ἀπολέσω· ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἑαυτὸν κορέσω τιμωρίας³⁹. » Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρῃ φυλακῇ ἀποκλεισθῆναι.

¹⁰ (ἐν ο. δ.) τῶν ἐδώλων, αὐτόν D. — ¹¹ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν add. D. — ¹² μονογενοῦς add. D. — ¹³ ὃν γινώσκουσι σὺν σοὶ αἰώνιον καὶ αἰδίον D. — ¹⁴ ἀμήν add. D. — ¹⁵ om. D. — ¹⁶ ὥσπερ D. — ¹⁷ del. V, om. D. — ¹⁸ om. D. — ¹⁹ φαίνεται add. D. — ²⁰ αὐτῷ D. — ²¹ om. D. — ²² (θ. σ.) δαιμόνων D. — ²³ sic V, ἀργυρεῖον D. — ²⁴ sic V, πολυτίμητα D. — ²⁵ ὁρᾶς πῶς add. D. — ²⁶ θεοῦ μου D. — ²⁷ (ἡ κ. τ. γ. δ.) τὰ καταχθόνια ὑπεδέξαντο D. — ²⁸ θρησκείοντας τοῖς δαίμοσιν D. — ²⁹ ὑμῖν corr. V. — ³⁰ διηνεκῆς δέχεται D. — ³¹ ὅπου τὸ ἀκ. π. D. — ³² (ὅπου - τ.) om. D. — ³³ οὕτως D. — ³⁴ τῷ δ. om. D. — ³⁵ ἀκούσας D. — ³⁶ ἰσχύσαν D. — ³⁷ om. D. — ³⁸ ἀγάμματα D. — ³⁹ (ἐ. κ. τ.) τ. ἑμαυτὸν ἀπώλεσα D.

58. Vision réconfortante.

Τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ εὐχομένων αὐτῶν περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον, ἡλθον¹ πλῆθος ἁγίων καὶ οἱ εἰκοσι στρατιῶται· καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀδελφοὶ δοξάζοντες² παρεγένοντο καὶ ἡ ἁγία Βασίλισσα μετὰ παντός τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἁγίων παρθένων. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους μόνῃ ἡ φωνὴ τὸ³ ἄλληλούϊα ἠκούετο. Τότε ἡ ἁγία Βασίλισσα προσφθέγγεται⁴ τὸν ἅγιον Ἰουλιανόν⁵. « Τὰ βασίλεια τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνεψχοῦ· καὶ ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐδεξάμεθα ἐκ τοῦ αἰωνίου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ⁶, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ σε μετὰ τῶν σῶν συνόδων⁷ προσδέξῃται⁸, πᾶς ὁ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν⁹ ἀποστόλων ἐπίδοξος ἀριθμὸς ὑπαντήσῃ· οἵτινες ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἁγίων κατατάξουσιν¹⁰. » Καὶ ταῦτα λεγούσης αὐτῆς, ἠκούσθη πάλιν τὸ¹¹ ἄλληλούϊα ἐκ τρίτου καὶ ἡ ὄρασις ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἀφῆρέθη.

59. Supplices variés.

Τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κελεύει ὁ M α ρ κ ι α ν ὸς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τεθῆναι βῆμα καὶ ἀχθῆναι τοὺς ἁγίους, ἐνθυμούμενος ὁ ἀδικώτατος ὄφρις¹ νέα καὶ ἀνήκουστα εἶδη βασάνων. Κελεύει δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἵνα τοὺς ὀνυχας τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων προσδήσαντες ἐλαίῳ βεβρεγμένην² πῦρ ὑποθήσουσιν³. Καυθείσης δὲ τῆς πατέρου, ἄθικτον ἔμεινεν τῶν ἁγίων τὸ σῶμα. Ὅρῶν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἐχθρὸς κελεύει τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ σεβασμίου παιδὸς τὸ δέσμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεθῆναι. Τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀναστασία καὶ λεγόντων· « Δόξα σοι, Χριστέ », ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ὀγκίνους ἐξορυχθῆναι. Τὴν δὲ⁵ ἁγίαν M α ρ κ ι α ν ἰ λ λ α ν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ παιδός, ἣν ᾗδει μὴ δύνασθαι ὑπομεῖναι τὰς τιμωρίας, ἐκέλευσεν γερανισθῆναι⁶. Προσιόντες δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται πρὸς αὐτὴν⁷ ἐτυφλοῦντο. Τῶν δὲ ἁγίων αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἐφθρόντισεν ὁ θεὸς ὥστε [ὄραν⁸] αὐτοὺς πᾶσι φαίνεσθαι⁹ μηδὲν πεπονητάς.

58. — ¹ om. D. — ² τὸν θεὸν add. D. — ³ τοῦ D. — ⁴ πρὸς add. D. — ⁵ om. D. — ⁶ ὁ θεός add. D. — ⁷ om. D. — ⁸ om. D. — ⁹ om. D. — ¹⁰ κατέβησαν D. — ¹¹ om. D.

59. — ¹ om. D. — ² ἐβρεγμένη V, βεβρεγμένη D. — ³ -σωσιν D. — ⁴ τοῦ γερανισθῆναι add. D. — ⁵ om. V. — ⁶ sic VD, eculo applicari Lat. — ⁷ πρ. α. ante ol ὑπ. D. — ⁸ δέσθαι D. — ⁹ om. D.

60. Les bêtes fauves.

Τότε ἐκβοᾷ ὁ¹ Μ α ρ κ ι α ν ὁ ς · « Φεῦ μοι, ἤττώμεθα². Τί ἄλλο ποιήσω ; Ἐν περιλέλειπται. » Καὶ κελύει τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον εὐρυστοιῦναι. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἀγίους³ βληθῆναι⁴ καὶ πολλὸ πλῆθος παντοίων⁵ θηρίων ἐπιτεμφθῆναι⁶. Ἐρχόμενα δὲ τὰ θηρία πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον Ἰουλιανὸν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔλκον.

61. Actions de grâces de Julien et du fils du gouverneur.

Ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ ἡγεμὼν, συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς πόλεως κελύει πύσσας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐρευνηθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὄντας ἐν αὐταῖς ἀτίους θανάτου ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐμβληθῆναι · καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναμιχθῆναι¹ καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ ἱεροσύλων ἀνθρώπων ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι² κελύει. Τότε ὁ ἄγιος Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων συμμαρτύρων αὐτοῦ εἶπεν · « Δόξα σοι, Χριστέ³, ὅστις ἡμᾶς ἕως ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἡγάγες. » Τότε ὁ σεβάσμιος παῖς μετὰ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ μητρός πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα εἶπεν · « Κατάμαθε σαυτῷ⁴ τὰς ὀψεις τὰς ἡμετέρας, ἃς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὕτως ὁρᾷς ἐνηλλαγμένος. Ἥ γὰρ σὴ ἀπιστία κατασχεῦναι ἡμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν, ἣ δὲ χάρις καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνέδυσεν ἡμᾶς μεγάλην δόξαν, ἵνα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσῃ⁵ ἡμᾶς ἐν δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ, ὅτε σὺ ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις μέλλεις κγατεῖσθαι. »

62. Tremblement de terre. Mort du persécuteur.

Τοῦ δὲ ὠμοτάτου ἡγεμόνος κελύσαντος ἀναμειγμένους τοὺς ἀγίους τοῖς κατακρίτοις ἀναιρεθῆναι¹, σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας², ὥστε τὸ τρίτον³ μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ θεμελίων στραφῆναι · οὐδὲ ἔσται⁴ μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾧ εἰδῶλον⁵ ᾗν · ἀστραπαὶ δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ

60. —¹ om. D. —² ἤττήμεθα D. —³ τοῦ θεοῦ add. D. —⁴ ἐν αὐτῷ add. D. —⁵ om. D. —⁶ αὐτοῖς add. D.
61. —¹ ἀναμειχθῆναι αὐτοῖς D. —² αὐτοῦς add. D. —³ ὁ θεός add. D. —⁴ ἐαυτῷ D. —⁵ ἐπιγνώσῃ D.
62. —¹ καὶ add. D. —² μέγιστος D. —³ σχεδὸν add. D. —⁴ γέγρ' ἔστιν D. —⁵ οὐκ add. D.

καὶ χάλαζα ἀφόρητος⁶ τὸ πολλὸ μέρος τῶν ἀπίστων ἀνάλωσεν⁷. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἡμιθανὴς ἐξέφυγεν · καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας σκώληκας ἀναβαλὼν⁸ ἐξέπνευσεν.

63. Sépulture des martyrs.

Τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἦλθον οἱ χριστιανοὶ καὶ οἱ¹ λέγεις · καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν σκηνωμάτων μὴ γνωρίστες τὰ λείψανα², κλίναντες τὰ γόνατα καὶ προσευχόμενοι³ εἶδον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀγίων ἐπάνω τῶν σωμάτων ἐν σχήματι παρθένων οὐσας · καὶ οὕτως συνελέχθη τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἀγίων. Τῇ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι οὕτως ἔδοξεν ὥστε τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἀγίων περὶ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα παγῆναι⁴, ἵνα μὴ ἡ γῆ τὸ σῶμα ἀνοίξῃ πρὸς τὸ δέξασθαι τὸ ἄγιον⁵ αἷμα, ἐπειδὴ τῷ αἵματι τῶν μυσσάων ᾗν κεκορεσμένη.

Ἐπαθον δὲ οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι μάγιστρος ἐν πόλει⁶ Ἀ ν τ ι ν ῶ ν⁷, ἦτις ἔστιν μητροπόλις Ἀ λ γ ο ς τ ο υ, Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ ἡ σύνδοξος⁸ αὐτοῦ⁹ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν ἰουλίων¹⁰. Ὡν τὰ ἄγια λείψανα ἐπάραντες οἱ λέγεις¹⁰ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

64. Source miraculeuse. Guérison de dix lépreux.

Ὅθεν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις ἀνέκλειπτον πηγὴν ἐτιέναι ἐκέλευσεν · ἥστινος τοῖς ὕδασι¹ πληροῦνται βαπτιστήριον, ἵνα ὁ ἐρχόμενος μετὰ πίστεως εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦται ὑγείας, ἀφ' οἰασδήποτε² συνέχεται νόσος.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν τὸ θαῦμα³ ὅπερ ὁ δεσπότης⁴ ἐκεῖ πρὸς βεβαίωσιν τῶν πιστῶν ἐργάσασθαι κατηξίωσεν, εἰς ὃ οὐδὲς ἀμφοισβητεῖ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας⁵. Δέκα λεωβημένοι σεσηπυῖας ἔχοντες τὰς σάρκας⁶ προσσηλέχθησαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάθους⁷ αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς Ἐπιφανείας (52), ὅπως ἀξιωθῶσι τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Καὶ πληρωθείσης ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐχῆς, ἐν τῷ

⁶ om. D. —⁷ sic V, ἀνήλωσεν D. —⁸ ἀναβαλὼν D.
63. —¹ καὶ οἱ om. D. —² τῶν ἀγίων καὶ add. D. —³ προσευξόμενοι D. —⁴ περὶ τῆς D. —⁵ (τὸ δ.) τῶν ἀγίων τὸ D. —⁶ Ἀντιοχείᾳ V. —⁷ συνοδία D. —⁸ τῇ add. D. —⁹ ἰουλῳ D. —¹⁰ τῶν χριστιανῶν add. D.
64. —¹ τὸ ἄγιον add. D. —² ἄν add. D. —³ τὸ θ. om. D. —⁴ ὁ δ. post ἐκεῖ D. —⁵ (σ. ἡ.) ἡ. ταύτης D. —⁶ καὶ add. D. —⁷ ἀνάθους a. c. V.

LA PASSION ANCIENNE DE JULIEN ET BASILISSE

βαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις, ἐπειδὴ χερσὶν οὐκ ἠδύναντο κρατεῖσθαι, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τοιαύτης⁸ ἡξιώθη⁹ ὑγείας ὡς δυσχερῶς εὐρίσκεισθαι εἰς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τοιαύτην ὥραιότητα σώματος. Φωνή δὲ ἠκούσθη· « Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου ἡ πίστις πάντων τούτων ἡξιώται καὶ μειζόνων ἀξιωθήσεται. » Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ ἀγίῳ¹⁰ τόπῳ οἱ τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν (53), δαίμονες φυγαδεύονται¹¹· καὶ οὐκ ἐκεῖ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπουδῆποτε εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐκκλησίαι γίνονται εἰς δόξαν τοῦ¹² θεοῦ, ὅτι χρηστός ἐστὶν ἐν¹³ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγιος¹⁴ ἐν¹⁵ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ (54), ὃς τὴν δόξαν παρέχει τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ¹⁶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

⁸ ante ἕκαστος D. — ⁹ ἀξιωθεῖς D. — ¹⁰ ἱερωτάτῳ D. — ¹¹ λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται add. D. — ¹² om. D. — ¹³ om. D. — ¹⁴ ὁσιος D. — ¹⁵ πᾶσι add. D. — ¹⁶ τοὺς γὰρ δοξάζοντάς με, ἔφη, δοξάσω· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα add. D.

(53) Cf. *Matth.* 11, 5 ; *Luc.* 7, 22.

(54) Cf. *Ps.* 144, 14.

4.2 THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF SAINT JULIAN. THESE ARE THE SUFFERINGS OF THE MARTYRS JULIAN, BASILISSA AND THE OTHERS.

1 The saintly martyrs, bequeathing to us this eternal gift of their departure have bequeathed us this, that they transmitted to those who endeavour, the acts of their own sufferings as an unfailing example and a way to those who err, sight for eyes to the blind and for faith of the weak. Putting forth outright to all the signs of their own virtues, they attend to the radiance of the Holy Spirit with diligence. From this treasure of righteousness nobody can be led astray except he who remains faithless. You who hear and read this, believe together with us that all things are possible to he who believes. Because of this without any hesitation, let us pursue the benefit of this inheritance which the martyrs have left for us to imitate. Therefore I call on you who are about to read this, that you may hear with an attentive heart how much glory there is in leaving the secular life so that through the narrow way of saints, we may be able to be followers of their way of life so that in reading their acts, you may confess to be true that the truth proclaims in the gospel: "Blessed are those who saw and believed and more blessed are those who have not seen and yet believed." What we saw with our own eyes the acts of the martyrs, we write down. Hence we believe that a small portion of blessedness shall come to us, and for you, who hear and believe what God is able to manifest fully in his saints, a more necessary glory awaits. So I will show the passion of the most holy martyr Julian and I will not be silent about how he offered himself valuable to God from his childhood. Believe in our words so that by believing, you may learn what is the reward for believers.

2 He, the blessed one, was of a family distinguished in this life. His parents nourished him as the only begotten pledge of their own love and of their own family. They initiated him in all teachings and wisdom of the wise. Therefore no dialectical or rhetorical elegance was unknown to him. But laying aside worldly

wisdom as a good athlete of Christ and controlling it, he used the world in such a way as if he was not using it. For he read from the teacher of all Christians that "the fashions of this world would pass by." And lest he pass by with the world in an unseemly way, he offered himself worthy to God so that he might consider worldly wisdom foolishness. For he was always praying that the world would pass by without his having any memory of it so that he would be with Christ, being a lover of the faith of the holy Church. Not a day passed by without him being watchful, frequenting the doors of the saints and like a good worker, he placed the treasure in his heart imitating the acts of all the saints and the chosen ones of God and aiming for each one's virtues, he flourished for the grace of Christ. The perfect desire which casts out fear was placed deep inside him. And so he removed himself from all vices and desires of the flesh and he separated from the world so that confessing rightly to the Lord he said, "As long as I exist in this world I am a foreigner to God." And he who wished to escape the notice of men to hasten to become pleasing to Christ, hid his purpose and his sacred desire.

3 His parents, seeing that he spent time with such an attentive soul with those ascetics of the Christian faith, called the honourable young man to them and they advised him with these words, "Our sweetest and honourable son, listen to your parents' healthy advice, that in the holy/ sacred law of Christ (issuing) from the blessed apostle, the teacher of all Christians, we learn with spiritual teachings. For he says, "bear children, build a home, offer no pretext for the evil one". For this reason we urge you not so much as to agree with us, but so that you appear faithful to the Lord's law." To these words the blessed Julian answered his parents, "It is not time either in terms of inclination or of age to do those things which you urge me to do." To these words his parents replied, "You are eighteen years of age. How can you refuse to choose a wife? We do not want you to bring up your age as an excuse but we press you to become the husband of a woman, so that by becoming a father by yielding offspring, you will present the child to God with one approval/ consent, while the desires of the body will be pacified and conquered so that with one common purpose you will

come together with the united and saving teaching." The parents were acting thus in order to resurrect their own seed which they believed would come to an end unless it would be renewed by his begetting offspring. Not being able to bear the pressure of his parents and barring the advice of his friends, his father and relatives, the blessed one gave this reply to those who advised him. "It is not easy for me to marry nor do I have the authority to reject what you urge. For this reason I ask for a space of seven days and as God deems worthy to inspire me, you will receive my answer." Hearing these things, his parents were worn down by many worries until the appointed day arrived in which they would hear their son's answer.

4 But the honourable child, having made effectual use of the interval keeping vigil day and night, asked God (to ensure) that he would not pollute his promised virginity under whatsoever pretext. On the seventh day, as night was falling and his body worn out by fasting, he fell asleep and the Lord appeared and comforted his faithful servant and He strengthened the determined thought in his mind. He (God) commanded him to carry out these orders and He addressed him with the following advice "Get up, do not be afraid nor fear either the advice of these words or your parents' choice. For you will have a wife who will not separate you from Me by defiling you, but through you she will remain a virgin and I will receive both you and her in Heaven as virgins. For My sake chastity will be greatly distinguished through you. Many young men and girls will be shown as citizens of heaven through the lesson of your life. I will be present with you, dwelling in you, so that I will destroy all the desires of the body and the war of the flesh. I will convert her who is united with you towards desire for Me and I will make her your follower. And there in the marital bed which has been prepared for both of you, you will see Me with a chorus of angels and countless virgins of each gender, whom though nature made dissimilar, faith in Me makes similar. You will be known as an imitator of them." And saying these things the Lord touched him saying "Act bravely and your heart will be made stronger." Strengthened by these virtues the remarkable child got up and thanked God saying "Thank you, O Lord, You Who are an explorer

of hearts and minds, You Who have taken worldly appearances and the joys of the world far away from me, so that I will hasten to trust my heart, helped by chastity which awards this to me, something which neither eye has seen nor which ear has heard, that which You have prepared for those who follow You with all of their heart, You who have deemed me worthy to be the way. But rather You be the good way in me and for those who love chastity and embrace the purity/ unsulliedness of the soul and the purity of the flesh. You knew Lord, from the day I was born until the time You deigned to call me worthy, I preferred nothing other than Your desire. Or rather, I desire only this, that You confirm my words because then I trust myself to start to fulfill <it>.

5 When he finished speaking he cheerfully left his bedroom, removing the gloominess of his parents with the cheerfulness of his face. And he said to them "You see, it is as you wish. It was made known to me by divine command that my marriage will not be the cause of sin but of joy. Now I will follow what you advise." His parents were overjoyed, hoping for future posterity. And why do I speak at length? A woman was sought, one who would be equal to him in wealth and manners and family nobility. Since God's kindness is provident and He had arranged this gift from this marriage, such a virgin/ girl was found, who was exceedingly wealthy and from an equal family of high repute, called Basilissa. She was the only daughter of her parents. And following the custom of men, after a discussion of marriage took place, the girl's parents accepted, asking for a contract. And according to the arrangements for nobility, the time for the marriage was decided. And everything that was customary pertaining to a married couple was confirmed in the registers. Thus the blessed Julian longed for the day of their marriage like a good athlete, with lust overcome, he hastened to become agreeable to Heaven. When the appointed day arrived, the neighbouring cities gathered together, bringing with them diverse enjoyments which the crowds delight in and through which tender minds might be excited by erotic desire. The squares/ colonnaded streets echoed to the beat of instruments and the different melodies of musicians. A crowd of virgin girls, their locks adorned with gold jewellery, sang songs with the sweetest of voices,

melting even strong men with the pleasure of their profligacy. Feeling distressed amongst such barbarous people, the athlete of Christ, the blessed Julian, never showed the secrets of his heart save to the Lord, from Whom he longed for the hope of victory.

6 And when the bride was brought to him from her room, he received her cheerfully and with her, rejoiced in the Lord and he pretended to the crowds that he was happy but in his own heart, he sang to the Lord saying, "Lord, cauterise my passion and my heart lest the ancient dragon wage war against me." When the time came in which it was necessary to go to the marital bed with the virgin given to him, fortified by the Lord, the revered young man entered the bedroom blithely. In there, after he offered a prayer, the scent of lilies and roses appeared so that it seemed that the girl was in such a place where spring flowers gave off different scents. The silence of the night was granted and the girl said to her young husband "I feel an wonderful thing. Do not deny it if you feel it too." The blessed Julian replied to her "Tell me exactly what you feel". And the girl said "Although it is winter and the earth witholds all the flowers, yet in this my bedroom, is such a scent of everything (all flowers) that I shiver by taking pleasure in such pleasant scents and I do not wish to have sex (go to bed) at all. So the blessed Julian said to her "The most beautiful scent which appeared to you is independent of season and time. It is He, Christ the Lord, Who issues grace to each of the seasons, He Who is a lover of chastity, He Who grants eternal life to those who keep the integrity of their body. If you wish to accept His commands with me, so that we may love Him with all our strength, so that we may guard our virginity for a reward which has been granted and become in this lifetime His chosen vessels in which He will dwell. In the future, we shall reign with Him and not be separated from Him." To these words, the blessed Basilissa replied "And which is the necessary salvation if not to safeguard our virginity and succeed in obtaining eternal life? I believe what you say and I pray to agree with you, so that I will obtain Christ my Lord as an eternal reward." When she said these things, the blessed Julian fell onto the ground in obeisance, where he

remained lying down crying out "Confirm this my Lord, which You work in us".

And seeing this the girl did the same as he.

7 And behold, suddenly the foundations of the bedroom began to move and an ineffable light shone forth, so that the light in the house was covered by the magnitude of that light. As it has been written, what was said was fulfilled "we have become a vision both to angels and men". So a most magnificent spiritual vision appeared in the bedroom. On one side was seated the eternal king, Christ, with countless crowds clad in white and on the other side, a countless crowd of virgins, among whom the first place was held by the glorious virgin Mary. "You have won, Julian, you have won", was cried aloud from the King's side. And from the side of the queen was cried "You are blessed, Basilissa, who consented in this way to the salvific advice, spurning the illusions of this world, preparing yourself for everlasting glory." Similarly, from the side of the king was cried "My soldiers, who defeated the ancient serpent's pleasure, let them rise from the ground and read, with an attentive heart, from the book of Eternal Life, which is set out on the couch prepared for them." When this voice was silenced, those seated on either side replied "Amen." And two men in white came forward having around their chests gold belts and they held a crown in their hands. They raised them saying, "Get up, because you have won and you have been included amongst our number. Look and read what has been prepared for you on the couch and know that the Lord is faithful in His words." And holding their hands, they united them. A most splendid book lay on (the bed), seven times more splendid than silver and written with gold letters. Around the bed, four old men held in their hands golden bowls filled with perfumes, issuing scents of various perfumes. And one of them answered saying, "Behold. Your perfection is contained in these four bowls. The odour of a scent comes forth from these, each day before the face of God. For this reason blessed be you who have conquered most of the delights of this lifetime, hastening to those delights which the eye has not seen, nor the ear heard and which the heart of man has not experienced. Come now Julian. Read what the one Trinity commands." And he came forward faithfully and started reading:

"Julian, he who despised the world having desire for me, will be enrolled in the number of those who have not polluted themselves with a woman. And Basilissa, who agreed to chastity, having integrity in her heart, will be recognised amongst the order of virgins, amongst whom the true virgin mother of our Lord, Mary, holds the first place." Saying these things, he rolled up/ closed the book. And once more thousands of thousands and ten thousands of ten thousands said "Amen" rejoicing with one voice. And again he said to them "In this book, as you see are written the chaste, the sober, the true, the compassionate, the humble, the peaceful, those who have no false love, those who endure sadness, those who endure difficulties and those who preferred nothing more than the love for Christ the Lord, neither father, mother, wife nor children, nor land or wealth nor the other things which hold back the soul in this age, those who would not hesitate to give their own life for His name. Among this number have you been deemed worthy to be included.'

8 And immediately the vision which they saw disappeared from their sight. Then rejoicing in the Lord, the saintly and blessed virgins kept vigil for the rest of the night continuing with endless hymns and songs. And what more? The day dawned in which the crowd who had gathered rejoiced. They longed to see the marriage that they thought had joined these persons, ignoring and unaware that the whole marriage had become divine. These blessed ones, bearing fruits in spirit not in flesh, began to hide the mystery of the divine grace which was established in them, so that it might become known from Christ the Lord and the angels, what was accomplished by them.

9 And since God does not fail those who journey in unsullied love, the gifts of divine grace proceed so that shortly after, their parents departed from this life leaving them appropriate inheritance through which they would not be deprived of the heavenly kingdom. They themselves were also most faithful Christians. Then the blessed ones gladly accepted the time that was given, receiving (as their due) the reward of their own freedom through which they would be able, through the corruptible substance, to dwell beyond the heavens. Since it is very

weary for one to follow their venerable life in detail, we shall narrate a few of their many achievements.

10 The blessed ones agreed, not only to care for their own salvation, but to accept the care of many souls. They divided their homes and they set up two lamps high over a lamp stand in which the eternal king granted the oil of grace and through them, pouring out with the flaming word to the unknowing, burnt out the weeds and the thorns of the sinners. And from everywhere the mighty voice of the Lord urged through the mouths of saints Julian and Basilissa, "Come towards me, all those who are tired and burdened and I will give you rest." They therefore established monasteries in which they reaped the harvest of souls from the snare of the thorns of this present time. And no one listening to the word which came from the mouth of saint Julian was hindered by any matters from turning to the Lord. So men were leaving their wives, children their parents, fiancés their fiancées and also the paternal properties. And offering excessive wealth to the poor because of everlasting life, they followed the narrow path. Not one of them, once he held the plough in his hands, turned his back. And the blessed Julian became the father of the holy flock with as much as ten thousand monks. And as it has been written, "A generation goes and a generation comes". As many who were transferred to the heavenly life, so many began to turn aside to the Lord. And nobody can count the number of souls who were perfected through saint Julian and who went to Heaven. Similarly, the blessed Basilissa sent ahead to Heaven the souls of virgins and women who had been freed from the pollution of this world. And for Julian, it was a holy trade of men and through saint Basilissa, the victory of chastity shone forth in the virgins and women. And since it now became known to all about their revered conduct and their life which has been clearly described through us with the help of God, let us now proceed to this time in which they accomplished their martyrdom and we shall show their glorious prizes.

11 In the times of Diocletian and Maximianus, the madness of persecution came about and suspicion of it spread all over the province of Egypt. When the rumours were confirmed, the saints discussed it amongst themselves. Then saint

Julian with saint Basilissa poured forth such an invocation in front of God, waiting in fasting and in prayer. "Lord, You Who know hidden things, the witness of thoughts, the explorer of hearts and carnal desire, we implore You to enlighten us with a calm face and provide us with a friendly hearing. Because You do not sleep nor do You doze, guarding in each of us the struggle for chastity in which You Yourself, Christ, know to rejoice. So do not permit the purity of Your flock to be destroyed. Nor grant the insatiable wolf, who is always hostile, power and permission to destroy the wall and the sign of faith which You provided to Your male and female servants through us, Your servants. Take care Christ, both of us and them. Because Your right hand is mightier in restoring than the tyranny of the persecutor is in smiting. Know and explore the powers of each one of them and according to Your gift of foretelling, enrol everyone in that chorus of the living where no suspicion exists of death but to reign forever so that when the day comes, You will appear great and awesome, O Lord, all Your servants, men and women, whom You made your soldiers through us, will stand in front of You, pure and we can say joyfully, "Behold, we, together with the children whom You gave us, none of them has been lost."

12 And when they reached the end of the prayer, they retreated to their own homes. And indeed at that time, when the night became silent, the Lord appeared to saint Basilissa in a dream calling her by name, "Basilissa, worthy of your name, I undertook to fulfil whatever you wished for, so that all the vessels which I cleaned Myself through you, you will send to the heavenly kingdom whilst you are alive. And you will have half the time in which you will be able to gather your crop from every place where you have sown your seed and to secure the harvest of your labours. And in the same way you yourself will follow, having received the keys of the storehouse which is filled with good souls from which everyday a beautiful scent springs forth in front of the angels. As for Julian, he will compete as a good athlete and he will be victorious. For he will never be defeated whilst chastity reigns. For through him I have been provided with countless numbers of souls. And he must suffer many things for My name.

And I will show many virtues and signs in the sight of his enemies. Before he even implores, I will say, 'Behold, here I am.'"

13 On hearing this, saint Basilissa lay awake, overjoyed in the splendid form of the face of the Lord. For it was like the sun shining forth in its rising. And she narrated it in detail to Julian. And she gathered together the holy crowd of virgins and addressed them with the following words. "All of you, holy virgins, my joy and the crown of my head, let us give prayers to God and let us offer a sacrifice of praise in our shattered and humbled hearts because He has deemed us worthy to reveal to us the hidden mysteries and He has defined the way and the time in which, purified in our souls, we may be sealed for Him. An extension has been granted so that each and every one of us by understanding the depths of her own heart has lived in exile in this world in the right manner. So let us depart towards eternal life, so that those powers which prevent souls from going to heaven shall not find any of their own work within us, and so that on finding nothing in us, the demons may be cautious, seeing the holy help accompanying us and the spirit of chastity rejoicing with us. Comprehend and search out the innermost secrets, so that in the time we have left, you may turn your soul away from all weakness, it being purified of sins by pure water, and by deeds returned to God the Creator. Let us obtain this request from the Lord, that we send ahead everyone undefiled to the kingdom of heaven, where is the bridegroom, the Lord, Christ. For this reason I send you in advance, holy sisters, so that no leaven of evil may remain in your heart, but all of you give yourself to each other as a reward in case you have harmed one another in some way, so that you will receive a perfect crown of purity of soul and of body and you will prove me your victorious mother, the number being complete of your salvation. Know this, that virginity of the flesh has no power wherever resentment of the heart resides.

14 While saint Basilissa was narrating this, the place in which they were gathered shook. And a pillar of light appeared in front of them on which there was a golden inscription. And a voice came from the pillar with splendour and a beautiful smell. And the sign of the cross shone saying to her "Basilissa, leader

according to your name, read what you see written here." The inscription read as follows, "So says the first and the last. All the virgins of whom you have become a leader are purified vessels and pleasing to My eyes. For I have not found anything unsatisfactory in them, whom you have offered as pure gold purified by righteousness and the testing fire. Come to the kingdom which has been prepared for you." And when she had read this the vision disappeared from their sight. Then they all thanked God, He who showed through the testimony of His own divinity that their souls were holy. The blessed Basilissa rejoicing said "I thank you Lord Jesus, that you have won these battles of the flesh." And she added "I despise you, Devil, who lost the fruit of your machinations. I despise you, pleasure of serpents, who did not alienate the vessels destined for God by any devices. I despise you, teacher of falsehood, since not one of the flock entrusted to me will perish with you. I despise you, intoxicating drink that was not able to conquer sober hearts. I despise you lover of worldly things, who did not have the strength to invite towards your own desire the souls who stretched forth their hands to the plough. I despise you, Devil, who failed to overcome those who seek perfection by any schemes and plots or snares. You alone experience your own confusion, you alone rejoice in your own punishment. For you see the prey which has been snatched from your hands, rising to the heavenly kingdom from where you have fallen. Rejoice with me sisters, for the signs of the virtues reign in us: the contempt for worldly things has received the heavenly kingdom; renunciation of the parents brought the company of angels; humility is like the cedar of Lebanon and a cyprus tree on the Mount of Harmon. Since pleasure is defeated, chastity is increased. For there is no courage (amongst) our enemies to prevent the souls going to the Creator. All are shamed because they recognise nothing of their own in us."

15 When she said these things with joy, the Lord, the vine, began to guarantee the increasing dew of righteousness. And so divine providence was fulfilled so that in the proclaimed time all departed to God and saint Basilissa was freed from care concerning the harvesting of the fruits. At the sixth hour of the day while in prayer a great grace gripped her. And she saw the whole chorus of

holy virgins, about one thousand in number, clothed in splendid stolas and wearing royal girdles, holding the royal cross, addressing the blessed Basilissa with one voice. "We have accepted this separation (from you) so that with you we may venerate the Lord and king. Look we await you so that you will offer us to Christ, to Whom you have provided us." Rising the blessed Basilissa rejoiced on her foretold glory and with joy announced these things to saint Julian. God's kindness was thus fulfilled, that while they were standing in prayer, saint Basilissa departed to God. The blessed Julian gave her a worthy burial, offering by day and night spiritual vigils in her memory.

16 And he with a chorus of saints flourished. It was granted grace so that the one who did not surpass another in virtue was not (held) inferior. For through him and his disciples many signs of healing were accomplished. For the sun neither found nor left anyone angry. And if someone, as happens, became arrogant in speech to anyone, he (Julian) did not accept food, he (Julian) waited in humility and tears, until he gave him love. With such care they laboured so that they offered the fruit of their prayers, a sacrifice of praise to God. The father rejoiced in this zeal of his children. Then each one said "In this holy gathering, never was the devil able to ensnare." This happened in the city of Antinoopolis which is a metropolis of Egypt.

17 The force of persecution prevailed. When Markianos arrived as governor in the city of Antinoopolis in Egypt, sacrilegious madness flared up so that there remained no villages nor land where he did not establish idols, so that those wishing either to buy or to sell, first sacrificed to the idols. The city was forced by the governor's orders, so that each person should set up one image to Zeus in his own house. Markianos himself, with his wife and only son, was the leader of destruction. When the governor heard about Julian's faith and all of those who he had with him, who were preparing themselves to die so that they didn't have to sacrifice to the idols, he was angered and he called for his assessor, ordering him to meet the blessed Julian so that he might sacrifice to the gods with all of his people according to the commands of the gloriously triumphant emperors, so that he might not undergo the hostile punishments together with those who

despised (idols). So the assessor together with the *cornicularius* and the princeps and the first man of the city went to the place where saint Julian devoted his time to God, where many crowds of priests and deacons and all the servants of the church had fled, fleeing the fury of the persecution. It was announced to saint Julian that the assessor of the governor together with the *cornicularius* and the princeps and the leading citizen of the city were before the doors. Then the blessed Julian said to the holy group "Now brothers, let us pray, since those pursuing us have approached and they are seeking us in order to drink us like water. Let us see what answer they give to us." Then saint Julian, having armed himself by sealing his forehead (with the sign of the cross) and having fortified his chest with the shield of faith, ordered them to come in. And because he was the son of a leading citizen, he was given honour from his own class according to the status of his own family.

18 Then the assessor of the governor began thus, "I believe Julian, that you are well aware of the commands of the most sacred emperors, with which lay-people agree, so that there may be one religion concerning the gods amongst all people. For my master, the governor Markianos, hearing about your nobility and the honourable root of your ancestors and your honourable family, decreed this in accordance with his prudence, that you be treated leniently in accordance with the laws and with grace. I have the edict of the emperors in my hands in order to read to you from the salvific edicts. When it has been read, you will hand yourself over to your family so that you may make use of your possessions and you may be deemed worthy of good cheer and love of the emperor." The blessed Julian replied thus to him, "I do not believe that your wisdom is unaware that the serpent does not move from its lair if it does not hear real charms from the mouth of the charmer. For just as one who ignores the charms has no power, is useless and cannot move the snake, thus neither the decrees of the emperors nor the philosophy which is ephemeral, will be able to attract the hearts of the servants of Christ to worship evil spirits." The assessor said, "So you despise and overlook and believe that it is unworthy to hear the emperors' orders?" Julian said "Let the soldiers under them listen to the

emperors' commands. We however, those who have Christ as king in heaven, do not listen to an earthly emperor." The assessor said, "Do you say this meaning to do it?" Julian said, "The life of this group together with myself depend on the judgements of the master. For such as I am who talk, so are all they, who are silent. For one is the master we confess, who is Christ the son of God." The assessor said, "I will report the things you say to my master the governor." Julian said "What you recognise as truth you should not hide. We are ready to receive ephemeral death so that we may live forever. For we do not want ephemeral life, lest we be enslaved by eternal chastisement." The assessor said "I hear that you have the bishops and all the clergy in agreement with you. Have they also become your disciples?" Julian said "They are not disciples but fathers. For through them we received the real birth (baptism). Therefore it is very worthy for the children with their fathers and the fathers with their children to journey to the Kingdom of Heaven."

19 Returning to the governor Markianos, the assessor recounted everything which had been done. And the governor, armed with the schemes of the devil, ordered that Julian alone be guarded for a private audience. He ordered that a great fire be set around the group of saints in the same place where they lived, spending their time devoting thanks to God. And so the order of the governor was accomplished. And everybody there was consumed by fire but there was such grace in that place, that to this day, it appears to all who pass by that at the regular time of the psalmody, the third, sixth and ninth hours and at vespers, at night and at daybreak, they hear a group singing. And anyone weakened by whatever disease, approaching during these times, goes away healthy.

20 It was announced to Markianos that his command had been fulfilled, that the blessed Julian was detained in prison. Then the enemy was inflamed. And the next day he ordered a tribunal to be prepared in the forum. And the command of the governor was immediately fulfilled. All ages and all natures gathered from all sides to see the blessed Julian, whom they loved, contend with the devil. Then the governor, with that horrible voice, ordered saint Julian to stand before him. Looking intently at him when he was brought, the governor Markianos said,

"Are you Julian, he who despises the commands of the masters and of the venerable gods? Are you the one who gathers to yourself crowds of guiltless people by magical skills and changes everyone's mind?" To these things the blessed Julian held his peace. Markianos said to him "I see that you are saying nothing to what I'm asking you, crushed by your guilt." Julian said, "I have not become a deserter of divine law in so far as the imperial orders of this earth are in agreement, but a listener. For since you have wondered at my silence (it is because) I am frustrated to talk to you, whom I see confused by the lies of delusion. For how can the law of the emperors be holy when they commit sacrilege?" Markianos said "I grieve for you, so overpowered by magical arts that you do not know how much power the commands of the emperors have. He who is obedient to them (the commands) is praised and is deemed worthy of the love of the kings. He who is not obedient, as you seem, deserves punishment and receives the inheritance of death. But I hear that you are well-known so I am adjourning the punishment to spare your good name, because of which I am urging you, as my son, to hasten gladly, offering frankincense to the gods in praise of your family."

21 When he heard these things, saint Julian said to the governor "You are not able to recognise praise of my family (because you have been) blinded by your evils. You advise me so that I will offer frankincense to the gods whom you worship, in order that I will procure love and glory from the emperor. You appear to us to revere many gods and goddesses. We are proved true worshippers through the consubstantial Trinity. Your gods are stone or bronze. If they are bronze, much better are the vessels for the service of people that are made from this metal. And if they are stones, they must be thrown away since the market squares are lain with them in order to avoid filth. And you, with frankincense, appease your gods who are cast or engraved in whichever metal, believing thus that they will be appeased. We, who revere one God in heaven, you say that we are seized by magical arts. Because of which, you order us who confess the true God, to be tortured. You ought to know a thing which you ignore, that just as there is no mixing together of light with darkness nor a safe

dwelling for a lamb with a wolf, in the same way our faith cannot submit to your commands." Markianos said, "Hear what the gloriously triumphant emperors order so that you may learn from their law what it is fitting for you to do.

22 Julian said, "I heard what they command. I have fulfilled what I should do by my Saviour's commands. For it is shameful when the herd has been sent forth, for the shepherd not to follow." Markianos said "Those men, through their deceptions, found a worthy death. So you sacrifice to the gods so that you may avoid the tortures which have been prepared for those who despise (sacrifice), so that you do what is befitting to your noble birth." Julian replied, "Do that for yourself and your own, whom the devil has made his inheritance. He Who takes care of me is He who moulded me from the earth." Markianos said "I should do to you whatever a doctor does with a weak person suffering after a heart attack until you are restored to health. If I restore you to safety, great honour will be mine from the emperors. For even the masters of the πραγμάτων suffer greatly because of your madness." Julian said "It has never been heard that the blind man illuminates him who sees and the sick man takes care of a healthy one and that the one who is lost guides him who walks on the right path." Markianos said "So you say now that I am blind, diseased and misled, who hasten to provide for your safety, and you alone have unfailing health?" Julian said "All these things have power in you. If you wish to recognise them, our doctor will not flee from you, He through Whom all Christians have true health. It is obvious that the ones who are worshipped by you are demons who can destroy those who believe in them but cannot free them."

23 When he heard these things, Markianos shouted to his public executioners, "Expose him (he will be stretched out) to the whips, so that at least in that way his foolishness will be made clearer." The blessed Julian said, "It is not foolish to know God but glorious. You, trapped by ephemeral enticements, ignore your interests." Markianos the governor said, "Stretch him out, bring unyielding rods and fetters and tear all his limbs to pieces." When this was being done, one of those beating him, landing blows on the saint, lost an eye. He was a friend of the governor and known to the emperors. Seeing this, Markianos

roared, "Is your magic so strong that you do not feel anything and cut out the eyes of others?" Julian said, "Markianos, do you see that this is what I said earlier? That you are blind, diseased and misled? Nevertheless, leaving aside this very bad thing which you are doing to me, listen to the things which I propose to you." Markianos said, "If it is on behalf of your salvation, I will listen gladly." Julian said, "Call together all the priests of your gods whom you have sanctioned. And let them summon their gods concerning the eye which has been removed so that they restore the sight of their worshipper. If they do not manage (to do this) I, invoking the name of my Christ, will not only restore the discarded eye, but also enlighten the eyes of his heart."

24 Then the governor, at a loss before this true reasoning, ordered all the chief priests to attend. And he said to them, "...with ceremonial honours you will see the immortal gods, so that they will show their (own) virtue to the apostate Julian by restoring the eye to the man, so that they may also receive him (Julian) to their own virtue." When they heard this, the stones (priests) approached the stone idols, fulfilling the commands of the stone (Markianos). And they propitiated the demons with very evil worship, receiving this answer in the temples, "Withdraw from us, because we are cast away in a perpetual furnace. For Julian's entreaty to God is so strong, that from the moment that he was detained for torture, our hell/ punishment has multiplied seven fold." Receiving this reply (the priests) came out and gave a false answer. The blessed Julian, to whom nothing escaped notice, made a prayer and said to the governor, "Markianos, hurry quickly to the temple. Your gods are calling you." And even though not by his own choice he did enter the temple gate, he saw all the idols, crystal, amber and gold and cast from every sort of metal, more than five hundred, shattered and returned to dust, as if they had never existed. Then Markianos, blinded by the devil, began to shout and said "O the villainy of it all! How strong they are! O demonstration of charms; how did they both conquer the virtue of the gods and turn the much revered images to dust? But at this point, one should marvel at the forbearance of the gods, for how long they bear the hubris that was brought against them until in bearing these things they

subject their apostate to themselves, let us watch him whether he will fulfil his prophecy perfectly and just by calling upon the name of his own God, whether he will be able to restore the eye removed by the blow from the striker."

25 He said these things to the blessed Julian, "You marvel that you have defeated the forbearing gods of whose piety towards you, you in no way realise. Now fulfil the command, so that in the name of Christ, He whom you revere, you may restore the discarded eye. But so that you may not perform this by magical arts, I order you to be drenched with urine, through which all your evil (spells) will be banished." Julian said, "This thing which you will do, will not be for my hubris but for the praise of my master so that both eye will be restored to its former health and the stinking urine be turned into a sweet fragrance." And thus the drenching happened in this way as predicted by the saint, so that it was thought that he had been drenched not with urine but by balsam.

26 Then saint Julian, making the (sign of the) cross of the master above the eye of the blind man and invoking the name of God, immediately restored the eye as if it had never suffered anything. The governor believed this to have happened not by the virtues of God but by magical arts. But the one who received the eye shouted "Christ is true God. It is necessary to worship only Him." When he said this, the governor ordered him to be struck immediately with a sword. No one doubted that he drenched by holy blood should be consecrated as a martyr for Christ.

27 He ordered saint Julian, who had been tortured with various punishments and burdened by iron fetters around all his limbs, to go around the city with the voice of the herald shouting, "This is what happens to those people who despise the gods and the emperors." When he went to the place where the governor's son was studying, the young boy said to his fellow disciples, "I see an unheard of thing." When they asked him what kind of thing, he said, "Look, I see that Christian whom they are bringing, with a crowd, conversing with a crowd dressed only in white, and a crown placed on his head, (a crown) made out of precious stones and gold, and its lustre of light conquers this light, and three other men, like gold, in the likeness of eagles, attending him with honour. And it

seems to me that this is worthy of belief in such a God, He who protects His own men thus and grants them such adornment. For believe me my brothers, that I gladden myself in this man's confession and so I desire to undergo such things, if the God of this man wishes to be my God."

28 When they heard these things, his fellow disciples and his teacher were troubled. And they wanted to correct him/ set him right, to avert him from such a decision by flattery. For they were afraid because he was his father's only child. But the child added, "The God of the Christians is truly great, I have resolved to believe in Him, Who does not forsake the ones who have believed in Him. For what is the glory of this life but a wineskin seeming fully inflated (to the eyes) but empty within, in the same way, as the glory of this time in which we have ephemeral power, but we do not recognise the eternal power of God? We wish to rule but we do not seek the true leader in heaven because of an unfaithful heart. How much better than us are the irrational animals who take revenge on their masters with bites and treacheries? For we, being rational, forsake our own creator and we revere stones. It is sufficient for me to have erred until now. I will not err henceforward. I have found an acceptable time to have the benefit of the light without end. I despise the riches which slip away easily and I seek those things eternal. For these hindrances of the world separate us from God and the ephemeral power demands/ requires a succession and life itself ends in death. I must believe in this true Christ, in Whom I shall have no succession, by binding myself to His eternity, I will not fear death. For this is true glory and nobility for the family. I must suffer for Him Whom I will not lose when I am tortured, Whom I will not abandon when I confess."

29 Saying these things, the son of the leader threw his books aside and cast off his clothing saying, "I must cast off this defiled clothing in order to hasten to God. My mother's womb brought me naked into this life. I forsake what is of the worldly life to the world." And saying these things, he ran through the squares/ colonnaded streets of the city until he came to the place where saint Julian was being tortured. For the unjust Markianos had ordered that he would have to submit to many punishments whilst being led throughout all the squares and

quarters of the city. Then the young man, casting himself at saint Julian's feet, shouted saying, "I recognise you, father of my second birth, whom Christ my master reveals. I deny and despise Markianos my father, the enemy of men and the persecuter of the servants of truth. I pray persistently to you to let me suffer these things on behalf of Christ my Saviour of Whom I was ignorant until today." When he said these things, the executors of the punishments and the soldiers were amazed and their words froze. His teachers turned to flight and all the city ran to the spectacle where such a thing was happening. And fear came upon them all, on seeing that the son of the governor was so attached to saint Julian that he kissed his wounds tenderly and shouted, "Why are you amazed, all you citizens who have gathered? You recognise me, I am the son of the leader, who together with his father used to tear the holy bodies of the saints to pieces by the arrogance of my father's power. I did these things, ignorant of God. Knowing Him, or rather, being known by Him, I renounce the gods. I deny my father and mother. I cast aside abundant wealth and I call upon Christ. I follow the blessed Julian. Why are you delaying, servants and soldiers? Go away and report to my parents that I have recognised the true God and I am attached to Julian, whom I acknowledge as a true servant of God."

30 This was made known to all the city and the story spread around the province. It was announced to his parents, who when they heard this, melted like wax in a fire. And when a great crowd gathered, they ordered their son to be separated from Julian and to be brought to them. And so it happened by God's kindness, through the prayers of the holy martyr, that the hands of the person who was stretching out his hand to separate the boy who was entwined with saint Julian, immediately began to putrefy.

31 And so he ordered that they be brought to him together. And when they were by his side, having looked at the blessed Julian, Markianos said "You have persuaded the fruit of my belly to deny his parents by magical enchantments." And while the governor said these things, the boy's mother also approached, with a number of the household (servants) of either sex about five hundred in number, loosening her hair, laying bare her breasts and crying aloud. The

governor saw these things, tore his cloak to pieces and said to Julian, "Cruel Julian, look at the misery of the father and the mother and the lament of this family. Free the guiltless person from the magical arts so that you will give back our only son to us and to such service return the master so that I myself will talk to the governors on your behalf and you will be able to retire without punishment." Saint Julian said "I do not need your help, neither do I desire to have leniency from your emperors. But I call upon my master Jesus Christ so that all who believe, saved from the wolves together with this sheep, will receive martyrdom, numbered with those guiltless ones whom you consumed by fire. For behold, he born of you is present. He himself will reply to you, he himself will look upon his mother's tears, he will suffer for the breasts by which he has been nourished, despising death and sacrifice."

32 The revered child said in addition to this, "Just as the rose is accustomed to be born from the thorns and the roses born from the thorns do not lose the sweet fragrance of roses nor do the prickly thorns lose their thorns in bringing forth roses, so you, as usual, have struck those faithful to the sweet fragrance. They obey your authority who are prepared to die. Those who compete to pass from darkness to light, will imitate me. And I, on behalf of Christ my master, utterly deny you, my parents. Because of your own religion for the gods, punish your own son. I will find eternal life through temporary death. For I cannot be dutiful to you and cruel to myself, nor prefer love for you over eternal grace. Why are you prolonging this? Being an unfaithful and cruel father, now, as a true Abraham, take the sword and offer your son to Christ. If the emotion that you have given birth overpowers you, send me to the most harsh emperor, so that I too will fulfil the witness to Christ the lord by punishments. For your groans are in vain and your tears are of no use. Beyond this confession, no other piety will be able to drag (me). For in this respect, every philosophical term lies idle. May the name of my father and mother be banished from me. I do not prefer them over the name of my Christ."

33 Hearing these things Markianos shouted, "Shut them up in a private prison and bestow on them necessary provisions." The young man said, "The

things which you order to be prepared, spend them on those who agree with you." Hearing this, the governor Markianos roared like a lion and supposing to terrify them by punishments as he was not strong enough to persuade them by flattery, ordered them to be shut away in the deepest prison where the limbs of the condemned had been wasting away for a very long time, being consumed by swarms of horrible worms and (where there was) a stench worse than all smells. The blessed martyrs were led there, the grace of the Lord leading the way for them rendering the horrible place agreeable. And they turned the darkness into light, sending forth a sweet fragrance.

34 Seeing these things about twenty soldiers who had been specifically chosen (to guard) the prison, converting, said, "Will it not be shameful for us, if we have an iron heart, if we turn from such light to darkness and from life to death and from such a sweet smell to pouring blood, and from such a father to an angry judge; from truth to falsehood, from sobriety to drunkenness and from chastity to license? It is dishonourable to return to this which we had become, to neglect the glory which we have found." Saying these things, they cast themselves at the feet of saint Julian, praising and confessing the name of Christ. Then the blessed Julian gave thanks to God with the revered child. When he heard this the governor Markianos brought the cruellest guards to the prison, so that he could apply the punishments which had already been prepared for all. The blessed Julian, caring for the salvation of those whom he supplied to Christ, called upon God so that He might consider how they might obtain baptismal grace. And on this I will not be silent.

35 Another great gift had been delivered to the same city: before the time of the persecution, the emperors Diocletian and Maximianos loved a certain man who was the first man of the city in a unique way because he was a descendant of the emperor's family. He died a Christian having left behind with his wife, his seven Christian sons. The emperors out of love for their parents ordered the sons to be subject to Christian worship without persecution. They had a priest with them who celebrated the mysteries. They were ordered by a dream from God to go together with the priest to the prison, so that the child and the soldiers

would receive the grace of baptism. Arriving there they saw the Lord's angel waiting for them, who on touching the door, opened all the locks of the prison. Praying together with the blessed Julian they shouted, "Here we are with our own priest Antonios, so that everyone may receive the grace of baptism. We, the mixed ones through you, father Julian, will become true soldiers of Christ through you." Hearing these things the blessed Julian said "I give thanks to you, beloved Jesus, He who has deemed my desire worthy to be fulfilled, because these men, who have been supplied to you through me, through the grace of baptism, may be shown to be members of your faith and because those, whom the impious piety of the ungodly emperors abandoned as small pious sheep amongst so many wolves, You have gathered to the confession of your holy name."

36 It was announced to the sacrilegious Markianos what had happened and that the seven brothers had assembled together with saint Julian and prayed to die for Christ. Hearing this, he posted guards and leading them (the brothers) from the prison, he spoke thus "What has happened to you children, whom the emperors loved so much that they allowed you to worship according to your own inclination? Why do you persist, without persecution, praying to die, you to whom life has been conceded? If I Even if I have lost my son by evil deeds and the thoughts of the soldiers were changed by evil chants, I do not know how, listen to me and be free from care as you were before." To these things, the oldest of the revered brothers replied, "Governor, listen to these things which I will say to you." The governor said, "I am listening." The boy said, "A lump of gold still has its own shine. But by the hands of the craftsman with precious stones it makes a royal crown so that those seeing it, marvel at the use of the gold which has glued the pearls together. Thus we were born Christians from a Christian. If it was not known to all that we became Christians, being secret Christians, we would not be crowned. Unless we follow Julian's undefiled way, we are not able to be part of the diadem of the eternal king, the Lord Christ. Greatly shunned is the young tree with flourishing leaves which does not bear fruit to its own farmer." Hearing these things, the governor ordered them to be

led to the prison in which the blessed Julian and everyone else supplicated God on behalf of them, so that the false flattery would not make their hearts submit. The saints received the glad ones whom they had feared for.

37 Then Markianos the governor had recourse to the emperors saying, "Provide help to the revered and divine images which remain. Receive in your presence the magician Julian, who shattered by magical arts more than five hundred statues which ornamented the world and removed my only son from me. And, I do not know by what sort of magical art, he turned the minds of the soldiers and the seven brothers, whom your kindness ordered to follow their own worship, by the same magic, he led to himself and made them ungrateful to your kindness. Therefore determine what you should decree about them." When they heard this, the emperors gave him this power so that if Julian with his companions insisted in the same confession, having assembled all the province and with the crowd united and watching, to have a cauldron prepared for each, full of burning pitch and asphalt and brimstone, and to put them in and for the cauldrons to be heated from underneath, as an example for the rest. If the enchantment of the magical art had greater power, then he (Markianos) had licence to torment them by whichever punishment.

38 Taking this authority, the governor ordered a tribunal to be set up for him in the Forum. And on the next day, having taken the chair, he ordered saint Julian with his companions to stand before him. When they stood there, he let loose this speech, "Have you considered nothing concerning your safety in such a long period of time?" Saint Julian answered, "Our decision is the same as it was in the beginning; as it began so it will end. If you have considered any punishment, expose it to us." Markianos said, "Whatever I decide, I will fulfil." And he added, "Have you heard what the unconquerable emperors have determined concerning you?" The revered child replied "Have you heard the punishment which God has prepared for the Devil and for you, who have become his messengers?" Following on from this, saint Julian said, "Fulfil what they ordered. We do not take any pleasure in hearing it."

39 While these things were said, a dead body was being brought to burial through the square. Then Markianos the governor, blinded in his heart, ordered the body to be brought up and set down in the middle of the company. And he said to Julian, "It is said that your teacher Christ, before he was crucified, could wake the dead. Now you, as your teacher, wake this dead person." Saint Julian said, "What good is the rising sun to the blind?" The governor said, "Spare us these stories. If you have any power or if your God has a power as I said before, awaken the dead man." The blessed Julian said, "Even if your faithlessness is not worthy but because it is time for our lord's virtue to be shown, so that you do not believe that it is impossible, I have the firm promise of the Lord, that if I am faithful, that whatever I ask for, He will not leave me in the lurch." Then saint Julian fixed his eyes upon the heavens in front of everyone and within an interval of about an hour his appearance changed and he (his colour) became like snow. And he poured out prayer to God in the presence of everyone with these words, "Lord Jesus, you Who are truly the son of God, who was born in the beginning from the father without time and for the sake of the world taking this flesh without seed, look down at this hour from the height of heaven for the shame of our enemies and the strength of the faith of those who have believed in you. And since you have done these things on earth, listen now to these things in heaven. Awaken he who has died so that the living may not die but that the dead may live again." And saying these things, he said to the body "In the name of the one who awakened Lazarus after four days, He himself orders you 'Arise'." And when he said this, the dead man rose and shouted in a loud voice "O welcome prayer, O undefiled virginity, O that he has been thought worthy of so much. Where was I brought and whence was I brought back?"

40 Then the blind Markianos said, "From where have you returned?" And then the one who had died said to the governor "Allow me to speak according to my rank." The governor mocked him saying "Speak." To these things the man said "I was led by some Ethiopians who were giant sized and terrible in form, their eyes like a fiery furnace, their teeth like those of lions, their arms like big planks and their nails like eagles' (talons) in which there was no mercy. They

gladly led me to the underworld. As I was drawing near the abyss, I was at the point where I had to give my body to the earth out of which I was taken. For neither the unjust nor the lying nor the sinful nor the sacrilegious souls are handed over to the place where they should go, unless the body is given to the earth out of which it has come. But when you governor, ordered that my body be laid down and when the blessed Julian poured out supplication to the lord of the heavens, all the underworld was thrown into turmoil and the voice of the Lord was heard saying, "He will be returned because of my beloved Julian. Because in no way do I wish to grieve him, in whom the Father and I and the Holy Spirit rejoice." When the voice was heard, two men clad in white came, removing me from the power of the impious and handed me over to this light, so that through the person who woke me, I would acknowledge after death that One, Whom I been going around denying utterly." Seeing and hearing these things the governor was thrown into confusion. And so that there would be no dispute amongst such a crowd, he ordered him to be shut up with the saints in prison and the locks to be sealed with his ring; and the blessed Julian made him participate in the grace of baptism, who together with them contended in martyrdom.

41 The sacrilegious Markianos ordered the punishment which had been ordered by the emperors to be prepared. On the following day both men and women ran together and all ages had gathered within sight of the hippodrome. When the leader was seated on the tribunal, thirty-one cauldrons were placed in line. With great fear they were filled with pitch and asphalt and brimstone and much wood was piled up. The sacrilegious governor ordered the saints to be brought out from the prison.

42 Saint Julian and the child were constrained in one bond, the others were dragged by very heavy chains to the theatre all singing hymns to God with one voice, 'It is good for me that you have humbled me so that I might learn your righteous acts.' Everyone marvelled at their beauty and everyone gathered together singing a dirge. And the men shouted, "O what an injustice. And we have children as well." The women loosening their hair cried, "O sigh more bitter

than bile. Why is such youth being burned alive? O blind authority and power, which neither spares the living nor listens to the dead." Then saint Julian, having asked for quiet from the people said, "Do not hinder us from becoming brighter than gold by fire, (but) know this, that you will see us, believers and non-believers, unharmed before and after the fire."

43 The governor ordered them to stand and said, "Hopeless choices, through which the ornament of our youth hastens to death. I do not know by what enchantments your thoughts have been alienated. Change your mind, even at this late time, and for your own salvation bend your necks to the immortal gods who toil because of you. If you do not, I will obtain from the emperors successfully so that you will be able to practice your worship without persecution. Only save my only son, so that in the very flower of such youth he will not be consumed by fire. O the insatiable shame in my breast. Whom should I mourn first? For looking intently at everyone's handsome bodies, my sweetest son, I am in pain over your form. O Julian, responsible for all my evils, how can you drag so much good with you to death? How can a son utterly deny his father nor recognise his mother? Even before you die, my son, I will listen to some words from your sweetest mouth. Look, your mother will come, she will find the agonies of her own son, which she did not expect. And behold, the crowd of servants who rejoiced in you as master, they have come to accomplish your burial by mourning."

44 The revered young man Kelsios said, "Let them mourn you and themselves. For why are they mourning for us, whom they see journeying to the Kingdom Of Heaven? For we will be go through this fire and we will appear unharmed to you and to all these people who are waiting for our contest. We despise the demons whom you worship and these emperors of destruction of whom you speak, just as if they were refuse." The governor said, "Is this your insolent recklessness which does not allow you to live?" The blessed Kelsios said, "In the name of the very foolishness which you worship I ask you under oath with unwavering heart that you may grant completion to my request. The governor said, "Ask for what you want." The young man said, "When you see

me unharmed after the fire, let my mother come to me and agree to a delay of three days so that I may plan one thing with her. And if you grant me what I wish, you will destroy neither myself nor her." Hearing these things his mother pressed for this to happen. Then the sacrilegious governor, blinded by the Devil, said, "If you leave the fire unharmed, which I do not believe will happen, I will do these things which you desire."

45 Then the governor, not bearing to see his son on fire, left the advisor who was bound to fulfil the orders of the emperors. He himself, tearing his robes and grieving, said that with his wife who was near to death, he would return home. There was great lamentation and everyone mourned. For the parents mourned their son and the crowd of servants their master. And there was no one to comfort them. The assessor, fulfilling his duty, ordered each of the saints to be put into a cauldron. And saint Kelsios, he who had never been separated from the side of saint Julian, giving peace to his father, hastened undaunted to the punishment which had been prepared. The advisor ordered a fire to be placed under the cauldrons with branches and tinder, the pitch was boiling higher than an obelisk with the flame. From the midst of the flames resounded a crowd of people singing psalms with one voice of many waters. When the fire assuaged and calmed down, the saints appeared like gold or silver flashing forth. And they sang hymns with this psalm, "We have come through fire and water and you have led us to relief." And once again the burning and bright fire lost its power.

46 It was announced to the governor to make known the saints of God. When he heard this, the governor cried, "Julian, I bind you by the oath of your God, that you may tell me from where you have learnt such power of evil." The blessed Julian said, "Because you have bound by an oath to the God, Who is the Originator of these wonders, I will declare what one who wishes is able to learn...'He who wishes to follow me, will deny himself and take up His cross and follow me', so that you may prefer nothing to the love of Christ nor desire anything else except that which the master promises so that you may not consider father or mother or children. Those who perceive know the rest, especially the one who has care for the poor and those who deny need so that

others may flourish. For it is a gift which is very acceptable to God when a poor man is sated, when anger is not accomplished and evil is not returned against evil, when one's fill of anger is not guarded and by not answering to anger, he who is not forbearing is more than conquered. The one who is not called a saint, before he became a saint, although it could have been said very truly. For many people are called what they are not and they become unconcerned by this one hope, because they are called what they are not, they become too lazy to work because of what is fabricated against them. These men are truly saints and it is not said about them what they are, but full of humbleness and grace, they do not wish to be distinguished from normal men as what they are, so that they may receive recompense from Him, He who knows what they are..." Markianos the leader said, "And who is so senseless that he flees from the joys of this life and inclines towards such hubris as you maintain?" Saint Julian said, "God is ready to give His grace to all, but few men show themselves worthy to take what is given." The leader said, "Let my talk with you come to an end." Julian said, "I am always praying for this. For what is the advantage for me to pour into a cracked jar? But nevertheless it is necessary for me to do business with the talent entrusted to me, so that those who listen to me are saved."

47 Then the leader said to his own son, "Behold your mother, as you asked, you can have an interval of three days with her. She is ready to (face) everything with you with....lest you, her only son and sweetest child, be destroyed." Saint Kelsios said, "In these three days which you concede my mother to me, there will not be anyone to mediate between myself and her." The leader said, "As you wish I agree." And he ordered them to be shut up in a special prison. The other holy martyrs were locked up in a nearby citizens prison. And the saints, coming out to the woman, offered this prayer to God in order that the mother of saint Kelsios might be turned towards the true faith. "O Lord God, You Who know in advance those things that will be and those things that will come as if they were present, Who receive true knowledge, and do not consider the face of man nor do You take delight in size and beauty of the body but You see into the depths of the heart, Lord, deem it worthy to open the eyes of the heart of this woman too

and make her acceptable, she from whom you have taken the fruit in whom you rejoice."

48 Immediately the place where they were, moved. And a brilliant light, brighter than silver appeared and there was a scent particular to saints, and a singing voice resounded in the air, "Truly God is pious, Who makes righteous sinful souls." Hearing and seeing both these things, the woman shouted, "Never in all the days of my life have I found such a sweet fragrance, never in the delightful gardens of lilies or roses or crocuses nor of balsam and spikenard. For the beautiful scent itself refreshes me so that I forget all worries and no other thing will I know in my heart except the true God, on behalf of Whom my son contends."

49 Hearing these things with all the saints, the blessed Julian said these things to the woman, "You are found a blessed tree among those who believe. For the healer who takes care of your health is so great that you need not have to care about wounds afterwards." The saintly child Kelsios said, "I truly know you now as my true mother and you have not lost your son nor I, my mother. You go with me to the gift of Christ for Whom the saints suffer these things." The revered woman whose innermost heart the divine grace enlightened, answered her son and said, "You have recognised, my son, that I prefer nothing else other than the God Whom you love. And so if you know something which at some point is expedient to my salvation, accomplish it." The revered child answered, "Faith produced from the heart leads to righteousness and confession from your lips towards salvation. This is missing for you, that you receive the purification of baptism through which you will be able to become a dwelling for the Holy Spirit." The woman replied, "Behold, all the locks detain us and the guard of soldiers surround us on all sides, so that there is no permission to exit or enter. And how do we find such a man of the sort that you suggest to me?" Saint Julian said, "Here we have a saint and true priest of Christ, who will purify you. Only you must deny utterly from your heart, the gods of your homeland, so that you may believe in one God, He who rules in the Heavens, He who is one in the Trinity and the Trinity in one, through Whose kingdom the governors rule,

through the grace of Whom the leaders are confirmed, at His word the nations quake, through His wisdom men become understanding, by Whose commands the heavens are enveloped by clouds, by Whose will the earth accepts heavy showers, by Whose gift the earth becomes productive and through Whom what he needs is born to man. He is Christ God, the Father in the Son and Holy Spirit. The blind are enlightened through his brilliance, the darkness of disbelief is banished. All are steered by his sanction. All has come into existence by his wish." Hearing these things the woman said, "He who does not believe in these things has an iron breast and does not have the perception of humans but animals." Then all the saints gave thanks to the Lord who deemed it worthy to save the lost sheep from the mouths of wolves. Saint Julian said to her again, "Do you believe as you heard that there is one true God, Who exists in the heavens, in the consubstantial Trinity?" The woman replied "I believe Him to be the true God, Whom I have known through your proclamation, He who fixes the sea within firm boundaries, he who set boundaries which cannot be trespassed/ surpassed, who elevated the sky and adorned it variously with all our different brilliant stars, who laid the foundation for the sun with perpetual light and who established the moon as a beginning and end. This is the Lord Christ, in Whom I believe. I have abandoned all foolishness and I desire to have this ephemeral life taken away so that I might be deemed worthy to attain that eternal life with you."

50 When the woman said these things, the ground on which they stood began to quake and a voice in the air was heard saying, "I believed and therefore have I spoken." When the voice had spoken, all the saints said, "Amen". And then the blessed Antonios, the priest, baptised the woman and her blessed son Kelsios received her, having become her (god)father in the baptism. When everyone was rejoicing at her salvation, a voice was heard saying, "May you become manly and may your heart become strong in the Lord." After this voice saint Julian said to the saints, "This voice which sounded around our ears is a forewarning to us about our future sufferings and the forms of the tortures which the enemy forms as a plan against us. Therefore holy martyrs, let us set

before us the race of our faith to God, Who is able to guard our faith and to finish the race, so that we may be deemed worthy to receive the reserved crown of righteousness."

51 When the sacrilegious Markianos realised that his wife had joined the martyrs and had been strengthened by the longing for Christ, he ordered the martyrs to be led out. And looking intently at them he said to his son, "You have asked for your mother because of this, so that she might agree with you. I do not know what has happened now so tell me, because I long to know." The child answered, "I give thanks to the Lord who has accomplished the fruit of my resolution, so that I will possess my mother forever, and she will possess me, her son. Know that from this day on, governor, that on account of longing for Christ, we despise this life. Wherefore neither do I know you as a father nor she as a husband." Then having become full of anger, the governor ordered his wife to be detained and to be led back to the house. As the servants approached her, they tried to touch her but became blind. Seeing these things, Markianos, blinded by the Devil, ordered them all to be locked up in the deepest prison.

52 On the morrow, having taken his seat on the tribunal, he ordered the twenty soldiers, who fought on behalf of Christ, and the seven brothers to be handed over to the fire and they fulfilled their martyrdom in peace. He kept under guard Julian with Antonios the priest and the mother and the son and the resurrected man for his own judgement.

53 And having taken his seat in the Forum, he ordered that the blessed Julian and the rest of the saints mentioned be present. When the orders were carried out for them to be present, Markianos began thus, "With you Julian, I think it is unbecoming to speak." And he added, "Are you Antonios, whom all these men confess as their own priest? It has been proved that you are the leader of this magical art." The blessed priest Antonios said "I give thanks to Christ the Lord, who showed me, the unworthy (how) to be the servant of this grace." The leader said, "You, therefore Antonios, say what this, your magic, is which persuades wives to separate (from their husbands) and sons from their parents, and how you convince them to refuse their fortunes and possessions of life and to escape

what has been handed to them by fate. Because of this the immortal gods are blasphemed. Tell me now, what is this recklessness of yours, so that I will know having heard (the words) from your mouth, how I can impose an end to you and your magic? For you are so strong so as to beguile the people, boasting that you have raised the dead. And you have enticed many guiltless people." In reply the blessed priest said, "I have prayed that I might summon the leader of this contest of ours, so that you might receive an answer from him, our Julian. But because there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, He who stirs the organs of our hearts, what you have asked, hear now from me. Our teacher and leader of this, as you say, magic, gave us the advice so that we do not throw the precious pearls to the swine, when he said, "I have not come to send peace to earth but the sword. For I have come to separate the son from the father" and the rest. And again in another passage following, he said, "He who prefers father, mother, wife, child, gold, silver, home or field over me, cannot be my disciple." Hearing this sentence your son did not prefer you, his bodily father, over Christ the father. Similarly the person whom you call your wife, recognising the message of the Lord, despised you, the mortal, and your corruptible bed, so that she would be deemed worthy of rest through the immortal Christ. Behold leader, you are not able to know anything more clearly." Hearing these things, Markianos ordered them to be led away to the prison saying, "I will think up punishments through which they will be destroyed."

54 On the following day, having called the priests of the temple, he said to them, "Adorn the revered temple of Zeus, which is customarily opened once a year, where the statues of Zeus, Hera and Athena are made of purified amber, to whom sweet Eros assists (with) enjoyments. Prepare the libations and the incense." Hearing this the servants prepared the customary sacrifices. And on the following day, opening the temple because it was the emperors' birthday, all the crowd gathered and marvelled. For the work of the workmen was such that the walls shone not of marble but silver. The apses of the temple shone with purified gold and pearls and precious stones.

55 The governor went into the temple, having ordered the saints of God to be led there, and said, "behold now, Julian and Antonios, the time has come in which you and those with you will be deemed worthy of salvation. For I chose this for your salvation, that you offer libations to the immortal gods in this awesome temple. If you continue in your obstinacy, totally denying those on behalf of whom until now I have spared you, I will exercise various tortures for you. Wherefore Julian, because you are the leader of this defilement, come to propitiate to yourself the immortal gods, through whom you may be restored to your family." The blessed Julian replied, "Governor, did you not decide not to converse with me? But because I realise that it is truly the time in which you wish to save us and honour your gods, make all the priests of the gods be present inside, so that they will know how we carry out the sacred rites." And saint Julian added, "Rejoice, good leader, he who thus offered acceptable glory to us because you have ordered me to sacrifice to your gods, when everyone is in the same place, which we are not reluctant to do. For because of this we have survived, so that we will sacrifice in this marvellous temple. He who prepares a symposium rejoices when the symposiasts rejoice because no joy of what has been prepared has gone amiss."

56 Then the governor, not understanding how he said these things, said "I rejoice on your behalf, though it has happened late, that you have not put away the very sweet light which is full of all good things in sacrificing to the gods." Then the judge ordered all the fetters to be taken away, saying, "It is shameful for them to be constrained in these bonds, (these people) to whom the gods have begun to be pious." For he believed those things he heard to be true. Freeing them from the bonds which bound them, he said to the revered child and his mother, "Come forward and propitiate the gods to whom until now, you were servants." The revered woman said, "May the true God Whom I recognised not let me speak further to you. For I have recognised the truth from which I will never be separated." Then the governor turned towards Julian and said, "Behold, everything has been prepared. Fulfil those things which you have promised." Saint Julian said, "It is finally the hour in which, while everyone

watches, we will appear to be held in honour." The governor said, "It is possible, if you wish, to achieve salvation." The blessed Julian said to his companions, "We will approach, so that we may be deemed worthy of salvation. And the sacrifice we make today will serve in order to know the future life." Leading first, the governor ordered the saints to come with a private guard, believing that the things he wished were true. As the saints went into the temple, they armed their foreheads with the seal of the cross. Then the blessed Julian said to the governor, "What are you ordering, governor, do we offer sacrifice to all?" The governor said, "Those whom you see are all gods, equal by virtue, similar in glory. They do not begrudge each other their own honours and certainly not from you, you who have recognised them late."

57 When the governor said these things, both saint Antonios the priest and saint Julian kneeling with his own companions said, "O God, the One Who has no beginning and the One Who has no time and He Who has acquired the eternal name, He Who does not rejoice in the man-made, for Whom the world is too small, He Who rests in the heart of the world, He Who spoke through the prophets. All the gods of the nations are demons, You are the only God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. He, Who by His wisdom made the heavens and having laid foundations for the earth, gathered together the sea and appointed a limit which it cannot pass, Whom the waves praise by their own sparkling, Whom the well-sounding voices of the many-coloured birds praising sweetly recognise, He Who has made everything by the wish of Christ, look intently now on the ruin of this temple. And crush down all those statues of the demons and the boldness of those who worship them so that when the things in which they glory are reduced to nothing, they may recognise You alone; And those who will believe in Your name and in Your son Jesus Christ, Whom they recognise as eternal and coeternal in the unity of the Holy Spirit forever and ever will be glorified in You." And when all the Christians said the "Amen", all the carved images no longer stood. The temple had sunk so that it was no longer visible. And so the thousand priests in the temple had also sunk. And a great portion of pagans were destroyed at the same time. There is a smouldering fire

in that place still today. Then the blessed Julian said to the leader, "Where are your artificial images of gods in whom you glorified? Where is the amber and the gold and the beauty of the temple? Where are the walls and the silver roofing and the precious metals? When the name of Jesus was invoked, they were overturned to the earth. As the belly of the earth accepts all these, so will it you and your emperors and all those who worship the demons, like you; there is a perpetual abyss where there is sleepless fire and where the worm never ceases consuming, where the body is regenerated for punishment. This place awaits you, the one which has been prepared for your leader, the Devil." Hearing these things the leader said, "O powerful magic, O enchanted that does not bear listening to, so strong that the lap of the earth opened and removed such great goods from sight. I will not pity henceforward. Henceforward, I will not spare those until I destroy them by the sword. I will satisfy myself with the punishments of these." And he ordered them to be shut up on the deepest prison.

58 That night, while they were praying, a group of saints and the twenty soldiers came around midnight. And those seven brothers were present offering glory (to God) and also saint Basilissa, with the whole band of saintly virgins. From this group, one voice was heard, 'alleluia'. Then saint Basilissa spoke to saint Julian, "The kingdom of the heavens has been opened. And we have received this promise from Christ the eternal king, that on the day in which he receives you with your assembly, the whole glorious number of the Patriarchs and the Apostles you will meet. These who place us in the number of the saints." And when she said these things, the alleluia was heard again three time and the vision disappeared from the sight of the saints.

59 The following day Markianos ordered the tribune to be placed in the middle of the agora and for the saints to be brought out. The unjust serpent was pondering new and unheard of kinds of torture. He ordered the servants to bind the nails of the saints' feet and hands to papyrus, saturate with oil and to apply fire. When the papyrus burned, the bodies of the saints remained untouched. Seeing this, the enemy ordered saint Julian and the revered child to be scalped.

When saint Antonios and Anastasios, he who had risen from the dead, saw this and said, "Glory to you Christ", he ordered their eyes to be dug out with hooks. The holy Markianilla, the mother of the revered child, whom he knew not to be able to withstand the punishments, he ordered to be put on the rack. The servants who approached her were blinded. God so cared for his saints so that they appeared to all not to suffer.

60 Then Markianos shouted, "Alas, we are being defeated. What else can I do? Only one (thing) remains." And he ordered the amphitheatre to be prepared. And going in, he ordered the saints to be thrown in and for a great number of all sorts of wild beasts to be let loose on them. Going to saint Julian, the wild beasts licked his feet.

61 Seeing this, the leader having summoned together the governors of the city, ordered all the prisons to be searched and for all those in them worthy of death to be thrown into the theatre. And the saints of God were mixed (with the others). And he ordered them to be beheaded amongst the dishonoured and sacrilegious. Then saint Julian, with his holy martyrs, said, "Glory to you, Christ, Who has led us to this hour." Then the revered child with his saintly mother said to the governor, "Observe for yourself our faces which you have seen changed in this life through the grace of Christ. For your disbelief attempted to shame us, but the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ has clothed us in great glory, so that on that day, you may recognise us in glory and honour, when you are about to be held in the underworld."

62 When the savage ruler had ordered the saints who were mixed with the condemned, to be executed, a great earthquake occurred so that a third of the city was overturned from its foundations. Neither stood any portion of the city where any idol was. Lighting, thunder and unbearable hail overwhelmed most of the unfaithful. The leader himself fled, half dead, and within a few days, vomiting worms, he died.

63 That night the Christians and the priests came. And because they did not recognise the relics from the crowd of corpses, bending their knees they prayed and saw the souls of the saints above the bodies in the form of virgins. And so

the remains of the saints were collected. And by the grace of God it appeared that the blood of the saints was congealed to each body lest the earth opened its mouth to receive the saintly blood, because she had already been sated by the blood of the filthy.

The glorious martyrs suffered in the city of Antinoopolis which is a metropolis of Egypt. This happened to Julian and his group on the 10th before the Kalends of July (21st June). The priests lifted their holy remains and buried them under the altar of the great church.

64 From hence the power of God ordered an endless spring to flow, from which waters the baptistery/ baptismal font is filled so that he who comes with faith is granted health immediately no matter what the disease.

It is necessary to tell this miracle too that the Lord deemed worthy to perform there to confirm the faithful, which no one has disputed to this day. Ten men with maimed and putrefied bodies were carried there on the day of his suffering, at Epiphany, so that they might be deemed worthy of baptism. And when the prayer had been accomplished for them on their behalf and they had been baptised in terrible agony because they could not be held by hand, each of them was deemed worthy of such health that it was difficult to find such beauty of body in the human race. Then a voice was heard, "The faith of Julian, my chosen one, has been deemed worthy of all this and it will be deemed worthy of even greater things." For in that holy place the blind see again and the demons flee. And not only there but wherever churches exist in the name of Christ the Lord and saint Julian for the glory of God, because He is kind in His words and holy in His deeds, He who offers glory to his saints forever and ever, Amen.

4.3 NOTES ON THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF SAINTS JULIAN AND BASILISSA

CHAPTER 1

8 οἱ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες the text is meant to be received orally *and* to be read.

9-10 πιστεύσατε...τῷ πιστεύοντι word play.

12 τοὺς ταῦτα μέλλοντας ἀναγινώσκειν again the emphasis on reading.

15 ἵνα ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκειν reading.

17 ἡ ἀλήθεια μαρτυρεῖ use of μαρτυρεῖ as verb. Playing with μάρτυρες.

19 ἡμεῖς ἐπειδὴ εἶδομεν...πράξεις γράφομεν John 20: 29 - the author is echoing Jesus' rebuke to Thomas. Following on from John's words, one is even more blessed if one has faith and believes without 'evidence'. But for those doubting Thomases, the author *has* seen.

19-20 εἶδομεν...γράφομεν The author is staking his claim for authenticity by claiming to be an eye witness.

23 ὁ Θεὸς πληροῦσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ Saints are perceived as a divine channel, mediating between man and God.

25 πιστεύετε τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις cf. Mark 9: 23, "Jesus said unto him (Elias) 'all things are possible to him that believeth'", also John 20: 29. The prologue heavily emphasises belief and faith rather than wasting time on the topos of humility or extravagant claims of unworthiness.

CHAPTER 2

2 ἐνέχυρον LSJ: ἐνεχυρῶ, LXX Deuteronomy 24. 17: take a pledge from one.

6 τῷ κόσμῳ οὕτως ἐκέχρητο ὥς μὴ χρώμενος (1 Cor 7: 31). The line comes two verses after, "they that have wives be as though they had none". The audience is being prepared for a code of behaviour.

7 τὸν...διδάσκαλον τῶν χριστιανῶν Paul.

9 ἵνα μὴ...παρέλθῃ cf. 1 Cor 7: 31. Repeated for emphasis.

10-11 ὥστε τὴν τοῦ...λογίζεσθαι cf. 1 Cor 3: 19, "for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God".

18 ὁ τέλειος...τὸν φόβον cf. 1 John 4: 8, "There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment".

22 ξενιτεύω to be estranged. Lampe: solitude or isolation from the world as a religious person. cf. *Apophth. Pat.* (PG 65. 109A: φύλαξον τὴν ξεντείαν σου). See J. McGuckin, "Aliens and Citizens of Elsewhere: *Xeniteia* in East Christian Monastic Literature", in *Strangers to Themselves*, ed., D. C. Smythe (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000), 23-28, esp. 27-38. McGuckin agrees with G. Gould's notion of *xeniteia* as monastic withdrawal, with silence as its essence [G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993, p. 29)] but concludes that the notion is "largely rhetorical in its origin" (31), giving its pursuer the authority to speak. Thus it is the "hearer" who should be silent, not the speaker (36).

24 ἔκρυπτε...ἐπιθυμίαν Julian knows his parents' expectations for him.

CHAPTER 3

5 ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Julian's parents are Christian.

6 παρὰ τοῦ...διδασκαίς Paul.

8 λέγει γὰρ...τῷ πονηρῷ cf. 1 Tim 5. 14.

14 δεκακαιοκτώ his age and therefore the accepted age to marry.

17 ἐκ μιᾶς συναινέσεως of his parents and his wife and of Holy Law.

18 ἀργουσῶν καὶ νικωμένων...ἐπιθυμιῶν his parents are following Paul's teaching that the purpose of sex is procreation. It is legitimate to do so within marriage (1 Cor 7ff).

21 σπέρμα cf. Matt 22: 24, "if a man die having no children, his brother shall marry his wife and raise seed unto his brother".

26 ἐξουσία The conflict between loyalties. Julian does not leave his family and pursue his own desires. The struggle between his desires and his family's

expectations is something he has to resolve not just abandon. And so he prays for guidance.

CHAPTER 4

1 τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἡμερῶν...ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ cf. St. Cecilia, see Chapter One, 53.

18-21 καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι...ἀπεργάζεται anticipation of the forthcoming scene in chapter seven

22 ὁ κύριος ἥψατο αὐτοῦ touches him, a personal gesture.

CHAPTER 5

1 ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος Julian prays and fasts in his room, cf. St. Cecilia Chapter One, 53.

11 αὐτὴ μονογενὴς τοῖς γονεῦσιν θυγάτηρ ὑπῆρχεν emphasis on Basilissa being an only child as well.

12 ὡς ἔθος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις The marriage was arranged following the customary manner: Egyptian marriage was not regarded as a religious act. The evidence shows that no rôle was assigned to a priest. Marriage was equivalent in meaning to cohabitation and procreation was the result. Within the concept of marriage the actual agreement of marriage and the celebration itself were two separate entities. See S. Allam, "Quelques aspects du mariage dans l'Égypte ancienne", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981), 116-135, esp. 116.

13 ὁμιλίας περὶ γάμου γενομένης See Chapter Two, 59-60.

14 ἐρωτῶντες τὸν λόγον Basilissa's parents ask for Julian's promise/word (contract): 'τὸν λόγον'. It is difficult to outline the procedure of betrothal as surviving Coptic marriage contracts are rare (L. MacCoull, "Coptic Marriage Contracts", *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrologie=Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 17. 2 (1979), 116-123, esp. 116). The following three examples are from Oxyrhynchus: The first two refer to the λόγον of the text and there are penalties involved if the marriage does not take place. The third document concerns dowry transactions. The first is a Coptic marriage contract dated to AD

609 where a father promises his daughter to her future husband [E. Balogh and P. E. Kahle, "Two Coptic Documents Relating to Marriage", *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), 330-40 = text (1)]. If this event does not take place, a penalty (πρόστιμον), to the value of three gold soldi has to be paid. The second is the marriage contract Ms. *Copt. b. 3* [*idem* 331, text (3)]. The eighth-century papyrus (housed in the Bodleian Library) is from Deir el-Bala'izah., again a financial arrangement between the bridegroom (with his mother and his brother) and his prospective bride. It is an agreement of marriage which includes a settlement of six solidi should the couple divorce. In effect it is a prenuptial document. The last papyrus refers to a "promise" in No. 139 of W. E. Crum's *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (7th-8th century) [*idem* 331, text (2)]. The promise is referred to as the δόξον. This particular agreement concerns the transfer of dowry, a deal struck between the bridegroom's father and the bride's mother. In all three contracts, the date for the actual ceremony is not given. Thus the documents concern some sort of financial involvement.

P. Lon 1711 (AD 566-73) is from Antinoopolis. It is a contract between Fl. Horuonchius son of Philip, and Scholastica, daughter of Theodora. It is a specific document (γαμικὸν συμβόλαιον), outlining the payment for the *donatio propter nuptias*. It was drawn up *after* the consummation of the marriage. The papyrus illustrates concerns over dowry and the need for the legitimisation of marriage over cohabitation. A second contract was also known to have been drawn up especially for the *donatio propter nuptias*. In Fl. Horuonchius and Scholastica's case the dowry was worth six solidi minus 36 carats. Certain rules applied: the wife had to "obey, love and tend her husband". The husband has stricter rules concerning his behaviour. He cannot "abandon her, nor invite any unsuitable person to the house, take another wife and dine in her presence with anyone except by her consent". The penalty for breaking any of these conditions for either partner is eighteen solidi (three times the amount of the *donatio propter nuptias*) [S. Allam, "Note sur le mariage par deux contrats dans l'Égypte romaine" *Chronique d'Égypte* 129 (1990), 323-333, esp. 326].

14 τῇ τῶν εὐγενῶν τάξει ὁ τῶν γάμων καιρὸς ὠρίζετο
 arrangements were made according to nobility and the time of marriage was decided. In P. Oxy III 524 (C2nd); SB V 7745 (C2nd) and P. Oxy VI 927 (C3rd), the time of marriage is at the ninth hour (ἀπὸ ὥρας θ - about 3pm). In P. Oxy XII 1580 (C3rd); P. Oxy XII 1486 and P. Oxy 1487 the time of marriage is fixed for the eighth hour. The extant wedding invitations reveal that the invitations were sent very late, usually the day before the marriage (P. Oxy III 524; P. Oxy VI 927; P. Oxy III 3; P. Oxy XII 1487 and P. Fouad Univ. VII), or even on the day itself (P. Oxy XII 1486), usually conveyed by a family servant [F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, *Studia Hellenistica* 31 (Louvain, 1993), 18].

15 πάντα βεβαιοῦνται τὰ ταῖς δέλτοις εἰωθότα τῶν ζευγνυμένων περιέχεσθαι
 There is no mention in the papyri of "registers". They could have been the equivalent of our public records.

17 προσεδόκα See Chapter Two, 85.

19 αἱ γείτονες πόλεις συνέρχονται
 On the wedding day itself the couple's families are important enough for the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to gather in celebration. We know that Julian's parents are Christian and there is no reason to doubt that Basilissa's are as well.

19-24 ποικίλας τοῦ πλήθους τέρψεις...τέρψει τῆς ἀσωτίας
 A magnificent wedding procession, though there is nothing to mark it out as being specifically Christian. Indeed Julian views it as βαρβαρικῶν ἐθνῶν (l. 25). The description given is that of a standard Greco-Roman celebration. See Chapter Two, 61-64. The only items not mentioned are the lamps or torches, which were an integral part of the pagan wedding procession. P. Oxy XVII 2144 (C3rd) is a list of payments among which is "the price of lamps for the wedding of Apollonios (40dr)". For other weddings on a grand scale see P. Oxy XLVI 3313 where a magnificent floral bower of one thousand roses and four thousand narcissi was sent for the celebration.

23 . πλήθος παρθένων...τοὺς πλοκάμους
 weddings were one of the very few occasions where both sexes could mingle.

CHAPTER 6

1 θαλάμου bridal chamber.

1 προσαχθείσαν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου part of the ceremony. The bride is led from her room to the bridegroom.

4 τοὺς νεφρούς kidneys = sexual desire.

5 ὁ ἀρχαῖος δράκων the ancient dragon is the Devil cf. Rev 12: 3; 12: 9, "and the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world". Rev 13: 7, "it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them".

9 ὁσμὴ κρίνων τε καὶ ῥόδων ἐφάνη lilies symbolise chastity and roses, martyrdom cf. St. Cecilia, Chapter One, 54.

12 δίδοται ἡσυχία τῆς νυκτός The Latin text (BHL 4529) has *datur silentium noctis*. See Chapter Two, 87.

16 καιροῦ ὄντος τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεχούσης πάντα τὰ ἄνθη the scene/ marriage appears to be taking place in winter. Most weddings seem to have taken place in the month of Gamelion, our January.

18 φρίττω shiver. Also synonymous with terrify/ shudder

27 σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτὰ cf. Acts 9: 15 concerning Saul, "for he is a chosen vessel unto me".

CHAPTER 7

1 οἱ θεμέλιοι τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐκινήθησαν cf. 14. 1; 50. 1.

2 φῶς ἀνεκδιήγητον ἐξέλαμψεν *Julian and Basilissa* is a highly visual text. Part of its purpose is to be τοῖς τυφλοῖς ὄμμα (1. 4, "to give sight to the eyes"). This sense of sight and light pervades the narration. By giving sight, the narrative means to inform its audience of its central message - Christianity. If the metaphors of sight/ vision and light are used, the forms by which Christianity can be revealed are manifold. Conversely, the use of blindness to comment upon the darkness that can fall upon a human's soul is also employed to very good effect. The visual aspect of the text is dramatically brought to our attention in

chapter seven with a celestial vision appearing to Julian and Basilissa on their wedding night, a truly magnificent scene with φῶς ἀνεκδιήγητον ἐξέλαμψεν...ὥστε τὸ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ φῶς τῷ μεγέθει ἐκείνου τοῦ φωτὸς καλυφθῆναι (7. 1ff, “an ineffable light shone forth so that the light in the house was covered by the magnitude of that light”). The couple are shown the Book of Life which is described as a βιβλίον λαμπρότερον ἐπτάκαις ἀργύρου χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν γεγραμμένον (7: 26 “a book, seven times more splendid than silver and written with gold letters”). Later, when the couple decide to form two religious communities, δύο λύχνοι ἐπάνω λυχνίας ὑψηλῶς ἐπιδύονται, οἷς ὁ αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τὸ τῆς χάριτος ἔλαιον ἐπιχορηγῶν (10: 3ff “[they set up] two lamps high over a lamp stand in which the eternal king granted the oil of grace..”). The lamps represent themselves, bringing forth light/ Christianity to everyone. So far we have been told about three different types of light illustrating the power of Christianity. The first is divine and ineffable. The second is “natural”; the metaphor is that of a realistic image, of the brightness of a precious metal for the Book which shines all the brighter for its content. The third example shows how the author fuses natural and divine light to transmit his message.

Basilissa receives three divine visions. The first is of Christ, and she rejoiced ἐν τῷ τοῦ δεσπότητος προσώπῳ χαρακτῆρι λαμπρῷ ὥς γὰρ ἥλιος ἦν ἀπαστράπτων ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ αὐτοῦ (13. 2 “in the splendid depiction of the face of the Lord. For it was like the sun shining forth in its rising”). Her second vision is of a pillar of light, ἐφᾶνη ἐν ὄψει αὐτῶν στῦλος φωτὸς...φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ στύλου προῆλθεν μετὰ λαμπρότητος καὶ ὀσμῆς εὐωδίας. καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ στραυροῦ ἐξέλαμψεν λέγον αὐτῇ... (14. 2ff “a pillar of light appeared in front of them...and a voice came from the pillar with splendour and a beautiful smell. And the sign of the cross shone saying to her...”). In the last, she sees τῶν ἁγίων παρθένων ἀριθμῷ ὡσεὶ χιλίων λαμπρὰς ἐνδεδυμένας στολὰς καὶ βασιλικαῖς ζώνας ἡμθιεσμένας (15. 7ff “the whole chorus of holy virgins, about one thousand in number, clothed in splendid stolas and wearing royal girdles”). These three descriptions all radiate heavenly light. The trend continues in the next four instances: the crown of martyrdom which Kelsios, Markianos’ son sees being

handed to Julian, gleams ἡ λαμπηδὼν τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦτο νικᾷ τὸ φῶς (27. 10ff “lustre of light which conquers this light”). Christ is τὸ φῶς ἄνευ τέλους (28. 16 “the light without end”). In chapter forty-five as the flames rise ever higher over the cauldrons of brimstone and pitch, the martyrs are unaffected by the searing heat but instead φαίνονται οἱ ἅγιοι ὡς χρυσοῦς ἢ ἄργυρος ἀπαστρέπτων (45. 16 “the saints appeared flashing forth like gold or silver”). Finally when Markianos' wife finally confesses her faith, the Truth is revealed to her when the ground shakes and λαμπηδὼν λαμπροτέρα ἀργύρου ἐφανη (48. 1 “a brilliant light brighter than silver”) accompanied by the odour of sanctity. All these descriptions of light-imagery are not wholly unexpected but they give a taste of how bathed in light, Christian or otherwise, real or divine, this text is. The author is trying to portray Christianity in all its luminous glory.

3 καθὼς γέγραπται...ἀνθρώποις 1 Cor 4: 9, “we are made a spectacle unto the world and to angels and to men”.

8 τὰ πρωτεῖα ἡ ἔνδοξος Μαρία Mary appears on behalf of Basilissa. This is reminiscent of Methodios' *Symposium*. See P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation on Early Christianity* (faber and faber, London, 1989), 183-187.

15 τὴν ἀρχαίαν τοῦ ἔρπετοῦ “The ancient serpent's pleasure”, denoting Original Sin.

17 στρωμνῇ Bed; not marriage bed – See Chapter Two, 85-86.

42 ἔπτυξε τὸ βιβλίον Rolled up the book, possibly a scroll.

CHAPTER 8

4 καὶ τί πλείω the author is reminding us that this is a narration.

4 τὸ πλῆθος τὸ συνελθὼν ἡγαλλιᾶτο The crowd wait outside.

5 προσεδόκων ἰδεῖν τὸ συνοικέσιον ὅπερ ἐνόμιζον ἀνθρώπους ἐζευκέναι The word used for marriage (τὸ συνοικέσιον) also has the connotation of sexual union. The author stresses the expectations of the crowd and thus what is deemed to be “normal”.

8 τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θείας χάριτος τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱδρυμένον κρύπτειν Julian and Basilissa keep their celibate marriage a secret. They probably anticipated the uproar that would ensue if their decision became known to their families.

CHAPTER 9

4 καταλιμπάνοντας κληρονόμους Their parents are Christians (αὐτοὶ πιστότατοι χριστιανοί). Julian's father, we later learn, is a leading official in the city (τοῦ πρώτου τῆς πόλεως 17. 16; 17. 27-8). He is very wealthy and we know this not only from the author but also from the description of the wedding preparations and the wedding procession. The family is also important enough to merit the attendance of the citizens of the neighbouring cities. Thus the inheritance which both children receive upon the death of their parents must have been considerable. Basilissa is considered the equal of Julian in terms of wealth and status (5. 10-11). With the convenient demise of their parents, the couple are now legally allowed to spend the money as they wish. They decide to make use of it for helping the poor in order that they may free themselves of worldly constraints and gain "the reward of their own freedom...beyond heaven" (9. 7-9). Cf. *The Life of Melania the Younger*, tr., E. A. Clark (The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1984), 6, p. 30, "...But their parents...were wary of people's reproaches and would not agree to their children's wishes. Melania and Pinian suffered much pain since they were unable to take up the yoke of Christ freely because of their parents' compulsion".

CHAPTER 10

3 διαιροῦνται τὰ οἰκητήρια The pair separate their dwelling places, presumably into one monastery for men and one for women (μοναστήρια 10. 10). It is important to realise that a double monastery is not a sort of 'mixed' single, monastery where men and women live together. It was governed by the same hegoumenos (J. Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les Byzantins", *Echos d'orient* 9 (1906), 21-25, esp. 21). Janin comments that the monastery of Christ

Philanthropos and the Theotokos founded by Alexios I Comnenus and Eirene Ducaina, was not a double monastery because each had its own hegoumenos and there was separate ownership (R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen age: commende et typica (Xe-XIVe siècle)", *REB* 22 (1964), 5-44, esp. 44. Earlier, from the eighth century, the *Life* of St. Anthousa of Mantineon relates that the eponymous nun was the hegoumene of a large double monastery. The nuns resided on an island and the monks had their monastery by the shores of the lake which encircled the island. Such monasteries were repeatedly denounced by Justinian I (in 546), the second Council of Nicaea in 787 (canon 20) and by Patriarch Nikephorus I (ca. 810) [*Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight saints' lives in English translation*, ed., A-M Talbot (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1998), esp. 13-19. See also C. Mango, "St. Anthousa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V", *AB* 100 (1982), 401-409]. It seems that for Julian and Basilissa, each is strictly responsible for their own flock. In the *Lausiac History*, Palladius tells of convents in Antinoopolis but no double monasteries, "In the town of Antinoë are twelve monasteries of women. Here I met Amma Talis...sixty young women lived with her" (59.1).

10 τὸ θέρος...ἐξήρπαζον the metaphor of harvesting souls, gathering them together. This agricultural symbolism is continued in 14. 24 with τῷ ἀρότρῳ where the plough represents Christianity.

19 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης Julian is father of a holy flock

19 ὥσανεὶ δέκα χιλιάδων μοναχῶν By now vast numbers have flocked to the couple cf. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 4. 6 (concerning Oxyrhynchus), "as far as we could ascertain from the holy bishop of....that place, we would say that he had under his jurisdiction ten thousand monks and twenty thousand nuns", and 18.1, cf. Palladius *Lausiac History*, "I spent four years in Antinoë in the Thebaid and in that time I gained knowledge of the monasteries there. About twelve hundred men dwell around the city living by the toil of their hands and practising asceticism to a high degree" (58. 1).

20 γενεὰ παρέρχεται καὶ γενεὰ ἔρχεται Ecclesiastes 1. 4.

27 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμπορία a holy supply of men cf. 34. 15-6; 35. 20.

CHAPTER 11

1 ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ The narrator sets the story during Diocletian and Maximian's joint reign (284-305).

24 ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ παῖδες...ἀπώλετο See Chapter Two, 82-86.

CHAPTER 12

1 εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους It is reiterated that they establish separate monasteries cf. 10. 3 and 10. 10.

3 παραγίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν Βασίισσαν It is to Basilissa, the woman, that the future is revealed. The visions disclose that she will soon die but Julian will face more trials and tribulations before he gains his crown in Heaven.

8 τὸν σῖτόν...τοῦ σοῦ καμάτου and 9

9 τὰς κλεῖς δεξαμένη τῆς ἀποθήκης The metaphor of the storehouse ties in with the previous one of the reaping of souls (10. 10), but is now adapted to suit its female recipient. Julian's personal metaphor in this context focuses on trade, a more manly pursuit (10. 27; 34. 15-6).

CHAPTER 13

4ff καὶ συγκαλεσαμένη τὴν ἁγίαν...προσφθέγγεται τῇ φωνῇ and 14. 17ff. cf. *The Life of Melania the Younger*, tr., E. Clark (Edwin Mellen, Lewiston, 1984), ch. 42, p. 56, "...her whole concern was to teach the sisters in everything about spiritual works and virtues..."

23 ὁ μὴνστωρ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός Christ as bridegroom to the virgins.

CHAPTER 14

1 ὁ τόπος...ἐσείσθη The ground shakes again cf. 7. 1; 50. 1 It is now recognised as signalling the presence of God.

2 στῦλος...ἐπίγραμμα A pillar of light appears cf. Exodus 13: 21-22.

6 ἀνάγνωθι Basilissa can read.

24 ἀρότρῳ cf. 10. 17-18. Also Lk 6: 92.

CHAPTER 15

3-4 πάσας μετοικῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Θεόν As foretold (14. 8ff), all Basilissa's charges die. This releases her from her ordained duty: "freed from care concerning the fruit entrusted to her" (15. 4-5). She is now ready to journey to Heaven having proved her worth.

CHAPTER 16

3 σημεῖα ἰάσεων Acts of healing confirm Julian's sanctity and that of his followers.

11-12 ἐν πόλει Ἀντινώ, ἥτις ἐστὶν μητρόπολις Αἰγύπτου Two manuscripts mistake Antinoopolis for Antioch: Ἀντιοχεία VB. The *vita* of the couple clearly ends in chapter sixteen with Ταῦτα ἐπράττετο ἐν πόλει Ἀντινώ, ἥτις ἐστὶν μητρόπολις Αἰγύπτου (16.11-12 "and these things happened in the city of Antinoopolis, which is a metropolis of Egypt"). The next section, the *passio*, begins: Βία διωγμοῦ ἐπεκράτησιν. Καὶ ἐρχομένου Μαρκιανοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐν πόλει Ἀντινόου τῆς Αἰγύπτου (17.1-2 "and Markianos arrived, the governor of Antinoopolis in Egypt"). We are being told what we already know, that there is a persecution raging (cf. chapter eleven), the location of the action is being repeated for no good reason and furthermore, Antinoopolis is given two different spellings, though in both instances it is in the same grammatical case. Thereafter, from chapters seventeen to sixty-four, the language becomes less complicated, less image-laden and far more narrative. Although the author of both parts of the text seems to be the same person, it is plausible that he knew of the *martyrdom* of a possibly authentic Egyptian martyr, Julian, which mentioned his wife Basilissa and so created a "prequel" to the martyrology. Alternatively, the author knowing of this *martyrdom* of the martyr Julian, wove the prequel adding the vision of Basilissa onto the end of the old *martyrdom* in an attempt to unify the story. Basilissa's reappearance makes it unlikely that the *martyrdom* was added on by accident since there is no indication of her throughout the

martyrdom prior to chapter fifty-eight. Thus the author must have known of the *life* in order to use her in the *martyrdom*.

Antinoopolis was founded by Hadrian in AD 130. The city was named after his favourite, Antinoos, who drowned nearby. After Hadrian's foundation of the city, colonists of Greek descent were enlisted from other Greek cities and nomes, such as Ptolemais and the Arsinoite nome. Legally Antinoopolis held the same rights as other Greek autonomous cities such as Naukratis and Alexandria and was closest in policy to Naukratis. With Hadrian as the city's patron, its citizens enjoyed special privileges such as the right of *conubium* with Egyptians and no payment of poll tax (like the Alexandrians and the Romans resident in Egypt). The people were arranged in tribes and demes (as in Alexandria and Naukratis). Overall, Antinoopolis was an autarchic Greek settlement with its own municipal officers (ἄρχων) and council (ἡ βουλὴ ἡ Ἀντινόεων Νέων Ἑλλήνων). The "New Hellenes" tag is especially telling, indicating the outlook of the city. In AD 297 Diocletian's reforms caused the creation of Aegyptus Jovia and Aegyptus Herculia (see notes for chapter seventeen). The Antinoite nome was eventually added to the Thebaid and became the capital and seat of its *praeses*. In the mid-fifth century, Antinoopolis' star was in the ascendant when the upper and lower regions of the Thebaid were created and the city became the seat of the *Comes et Dux*. This meritorious treatment continued into the Justinianic period when the supreme command of the *Dux et Augustalis* was located in Antinoopolis [J de M. Johnson, "Antinoë and its Papyri" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914), 171-172].

The earliest excavations by Gayet in 1897 and 1902 reveal a largely desolate site, a mere reflection of what must have been its former splendour. Antinoopolis' interest for archaeologists seems primarily to have been for its papyri. Johnson's report of 1914 mentions a few monumental remains whilst the later Italian excavations [S. Donadoni, "Rapporto Preliminare degli Scavi della Missione Fiorentina nel Tempio di Ramessese II ad Antinoë", *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 39 (1939), 665-685; A. Adriani, "Scavi della Missione dell'Istituto Papirologico Fiorentino ad Antinoë", *ASAE* 39 (1939), 659-663 and I.

Baldassare, "Antinoë - Necropoli Meridionale, (i) Relazione Preliminare", *ASAE* 69 (1983), 157-161] all give the impression of an extensive city with a largely classical backdrop. Adriani noted that the city followed the orientation of the Nile [Adriani (1939), 660]. The bustling everyday life of its citizens centered on the two main colonnaded streets and the buildings situated around them. The monumental feature discussed most often in reports is the theatre, located to the south of the city, mainly as it is one of the very few architectural features remaining. It is also mentioned with a drawing, in Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte*. To the north was a building supposed to be the tomb of Antinous. A triumphal arch provided the main entry to the city and thence onto the main cross avenue. Narrower streets cross-sected this artery of the city at right angles and then joined others to form a network which spread throughout the city to form the residential quarters (γράμματα). It was very similar to the arrangement of Alexandria whose quarters were also called γράμματα. They were further divided into local areas called πλινθεῖα. These were classed numerically and geographically (βόρειον/ νότειον) [Johnson (1914), 179]. Bell observed that the location of a house was specified by indicating both the γράμμα and the πλινθεῖον [H. I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: a Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt", *JRS* 30 (1940), 133-147, esp. 135]. From extant papyri it can be calculated that there were quarters in Antinoopolis, compared with five in Alexandria (P. Lon. Inv 2000.6). The length of the city walls was over three kilometres.

Outside we find the remains of the other great structure of a Greco-Roman city, the circus or hippodrome. Gasiorowski's discussion of the illustrated fragment of a sixth-century papyrus concerning charioteers found in Antinoopolis attests, at least, to the evidence of a circus and its popularity [S. J. Gasiorowski, "A Fragment of a Greek Illustrated Papyrus from Antinoë", *JEA* 17 (1931), 1-9, esp. 6]. The enthusiasm for games was evident in Alexandria. We also have Oxyrhynchus fragments of receipts for dealings with horses, CXLV (552 AD) and CLII (618 AD). No. 1050 (2nd/ 3rd AD) and No 519 (2nd AD) are accounts for the games. Johnson also located the ancient cemeteries to the north

and south of the city [Johnson (1914), 169]. The papyri reveal a bath complex by a temple of Dionysios (SB XIV 11978 (178AD)).

The *Martyrdom* of Julian mentions several buildings: the theatre (61. 3), the forum (53; 20; 38), the agora (59), the amphitheatre (60), the hippodrome (41), two prisons (33. 7; 47; 56. 20; 57. 40), a temple of Zeus (54), the “great church” (63) and a baptistery (64) (presumably attached to the church). The theatre and the hippodrome have been identified from the excavations reports just discussed. It was very common for towns of this period to have a main church simply called τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ [O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* (Società editrice internazionale, Turin, 1973), 291-292] as well as the usual cluster of churches dedicated to saints and martyrs. I have been unable to trace the two different sorts of prisons which are mentioned in the text: the φρουρᾶ (47. 7) and the πολιτικὴ φυλακὴ (33.7; 47. 8; 56. 20; 57. 40) which is apparently close to the φρουρᾶ. The forum, agora and amphitheatre mentioned in the text are all standard features of a Greek city and so are likely to be present, particularly in a city as hellenised as Antinoopolis.

CHAPTER 17

1 βία διωγμοῦ ἐπεκράτησιν... Ἀντινόου τῆς Αἰγύπτου cf. chapter eleven: Ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ μανία διωγμοῦ ἐπέπιπεν. There is confusion as to Maximian's correct identity. The Bollandists and authors of various dictionaries of saints believe that it is Maximian II [J. J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (Kaye & Ward Ltd, Surrey, 1982) and Rt. Rev. F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (B. Herder Book Company, London, 1924)]. The man in question was either M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (who ruled jointly with Diocletian as Augustus), or Galerius (C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus) the Caesar. The latter ruled over the Oriens diocese from 293-296 and with Diocletian, 296-299 [T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., & London, 1982), esp. 196ff]. There is also the Maximinus of the second tetrarchy - Maximin II (Maximin Daia). He ruled first as Caesar, then as Augustus. The persecution

referred to in the passage could refer to a renewed outbreak which occurred when he held sway over the eastern provinces from 305-313. The edict of 304 (Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* 1. 4-5) commanded everyone to sacrifice though this seems to have been limited to the East. As Markianos the governor has specifically been sent to Antinoopolis, this indicates a new stage in persecution [S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial pronouncements and government AD 284-324*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996), esp. 182ff]. Given that the text refers both to Maximian and Diocletian, the Caesar Galerius seems the most likely candidate as Maximian.

1 Μαρκιανός Markianos cannot be identified. There is the possibility that the author, when constructing the narrative, took the name from one of the demes of Antinoopolis [H. I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt", *Journal of Roman Studies* 30 (1940), 133-147, esp. 135]. Antinoopolis was divided into ten tribes of five demes each [J. de M. Johnson, "Antinoë and its Papyri", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914), 168-181, esp. 171]. The deme of Markianos belonged to the Matidian tribe (so named after Hadrian's mother-in-law Ματιδία).

6 εἰκόνα τῷ Διὶ ἀνιστῶσιν No business transactions can continue until images to Zeus have been set up. There are two events in Egypt which could correspond to this. The first occurred when Diocletian came to power with Maximianus and renewed the cult of Zeus and Hercules. He was represented by Zeus [S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (B. T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1985), esp. 58ff]. It was from the father of the gods that he received the divine right to rule and so adopted the name Jovius (ILS 621; 623; 659; 8930). Galerius, Maximianus, Licinius and his son also adopted the epithet [Barnes (1982), 24]. Using the Verona List, a source which lists the provinces of the Empire, it can be seen that Aegyptus Iovia was created in 314/5, hence the reference in the text to images of Zeus. This evidence could locate the persecution during the reigns of Diocletian and Maximianus. The second event refers to the line in the *Life* which states that "no one was allowed to buy or sell". Diocletian is renowned for his regeneration of the economy. His great innovation in Egypt was the new tax

system whereby assesment was now based solely on production (*idem* 205), as opposed to favouring the Greek population over the Egyptian peasantry [Williams (1985), 79ff]. It was known as the edict of Aristus Optatus (P. Cairo. Isid.) enforced in 297. To implement these measures a new census had to be prepared. All these new measures may have contributed to the revolt in Egypt in 297-8 by Domitius Domitianus.

7 μετὰ τῆς γαμετῆς καὶ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ Here we have the first mention of Markianos' family, soon to play a prominent rôle in the story. Note the emphasis on μονογενοῦς.

11 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σύμπονον *Lampe* - assessor/ assistant of magistrate.

15 κουρνικουλαρίου A Latin loan word: *cornicularius*. Usually translated into Greek as κορνικουλαρίος: the wearer of a corniculum (helmet) [W. A. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol 1³ (J. Murray, London, 1890-91). Known primarily as a military official. Du Cange [*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* (J. Posuel & C. Rigaud, Lugduni, 1688)] lists the title as one often mentioned in the Imperial Notitia (P. Brit. Mus. (Bell II) 232, AD 346). Originally only one cornicularius was attached to each legion (Valerius Maximus vi 1.11). The adjutants were also attached to provincial governors. See *CIL* 3846 and *Cod. Theod.* 8. 15. 5. 1.

16 τοῦ πρώτου τῆς πολέως *Lampe* - chief magistrate. Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii Galensis* 25, 27 and 95. Mark the Deacon refers to πρωτεύοντες whom Hill in the commentary assumes to be "chief councilors" [*The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza by Mark the Deacon* tr. and comm. G. F. Hill (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913)]. Hill uses P Cairo 67006 to show that these officials governed the villages and were particularly concerned with tax.

CHAPTER 18

1 τότε ὁ σύμπονος...ἤρξατο Julian's first chance to recant.

3 ὥστε μίαν...θρησκείαν Emphasis is on one worship, reflecting the tightening of the state. There was a revival of piety and morals with an increased emphasis on religion as the instrument of ideology. *SHA* 10 reflects this necessity

for empire by describing Diocletian as the *vir rei publicae necessarius* (the man whom the State needed).

5 τὰ τῆς εὐγενείας...γένος Julian's nobility is re-emphasised (cf. special treatment of the seven brothers in ch. 35ff).

13 οὐ νομίζω λανθάνειν sarcastic echo of l. 1-2 νομίζω μὴ λανθάνειν σε.

14 φωλεοῦ lair of serpent LSJ: Theoc. 24. 85 cf. Nic. *Th* 394, Luc. *Philopseudeis* 11 (The story takes place in Egypt and is centered around magic. Magic in the *Life* is discussed more fully in the discussion on chapter twenty).

14 ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ ἐπάδοντος...ἀγνοῶν cf. Epiphanius' *Panarion* 37. 5, "the animal (snake) (is) tamed by some magical incantation or lulled by some other act of the devil to fool them" (in order to let its worshippers, the Ophites, kiss it).

21 τὰς τῶν βασιλέων κελεύσεις...οὐκ ἀκούομεν Julian paints the contrast between the earthly king and his soldiers, and the Heavenly king (and His soldiers).

36 ἀληθῇ γένναν baptism. Lampe - Basil *hom* 13.1 (καιρὸς τοῦ γεννηθῆναι); Chrysostom *hom* 7. 2 in Col ("marvel not that generation and destruction take place in baptism").

CHAPTER 19

11 ψάλλοντος πλήθους cf. 45. 17.

12 νόσω κρατούμενος Further miracles to prove sanctity and indirectly, Julian's sanctity.

CHAPTER 20

11 μαγικαῖς τέχναις Markianos is insistent that Julian is a magician (37: 3) and persistently refers to his magical powers (20: 11; 20: 21) to describe how he managed to persuade his followers. 31: 3; 31: 11; 36: 9; 37: 7; 37: 9 and 37: 17 all refer to how Julian later converts Markianos' son (and others). 37: 4 describes how he later destroys a temple. Jesus had been referred to as a magician by Celsus (Origen in *contra Celsum* 1. 6, 28, 38 and 2. 9, 14) [See D. E. Aune, "Magic in

Early Christianity", *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1980), 1507-1557, esp. 1525]. In 1. 6 Celsus writes that even the evil can use His name with effect as it is so powerful. In the *Life* of James the Dismembered (*BHL* 4101), James is asked by his torturers, "'Are you a Nazarene?' 'Yes'. ...'Then are you a sorcerer?'"'. Acts 3: 16; 16: 4 and 16: 8 similarly illustrate Jesus' power this time for good, for healing and performing exorcisms [Aune (1980), 1545]. Magic itself was not a new phenomenon in Egypt, the location where several Classical writers based many of their tales of spells and incantations: Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, p. 361 A-E; Iamblichus, *On the mysteries of Egypt*, 1. 20; 2. 11 and Heliodoros' *Aethiopica* 6: 14-5 to name a tiny proportion. The idea of the magician was also not alien to Egyptian thought. He was a powerful figure, capable of making the gods submit to him [G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York, 1986), esp. 81]. Investigation into the collection of Greek magical papyri shows that the words *μαγεία* (magic), *μαγικός* (magical) and *μᾶγος* (magician) were not feared or invoked with trepidation. Betz concludes that in the Greek magical papyri there is no distinction between magic and religion [H. D. Betz, "Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri", in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek magic and religion*, eds, C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1991), 244-259, esp. 248]. In the *Life*, Markianos naturally concludes that Julian's miracles are due to a form of magic. What he cannot comprehend is its strength, *τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἡ μαγεία ἢ σὴ* (23: 11 "your magic is so strong").

19 *ἄπάτης* delusion/ guilt/ deceit/ treachery. Julian is referring to Markianos' fall into worldly delusion.

25 *ἀκούω σε οὕτως λαμπρὸν...ἀναβάλλομαι* again the emphasis on Julian's family.

27 *ὡς υἱόν μου* Markianos is banking on their shared nobility. This will later have ironic overtones when his own son becomes a Christian.

CHAPTER 21

1 τῇ κακίᾳ τῇ σῇ τυφλωθεὶς This is the first time Markianos' spiritual blindness is alluded to. In a text which is meant to illuminate its listeners/readers, light - both actual and divine - permeates throughout. By contrast, there are constant references to blindness, particularly that of Markianos [24: 22 (τυφλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου); 39: 2 (τυφλωθεὶς τῇ καρδίᾳ); 40: 1 (ὁ τυφλὸς Μαρκιανὸς) and 44: 17 (τυφλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου)]. Not only can he not see the light/ Truth but he has chosen not to see it, despite the events which unfold causing him to lose his son, his wife and eventually his life. This theme is continued in various forms. When the martyrs are about being placed into cauldrons full of burning pitch, asphalt and brimstone, the crowd shout 'ὦ τυφλὴ ἐξουσία καὶ δυναστεία' (42. 8 "O blind authority and power"). Blindness to the Truth, to Christ is demonstrated physically in chapters twenty-three, twenty-six, fifty-one and fifty-nine. In twenty-three as Julian is being beaten, his persecutor loses an eye (ἐκ τῶν τυπόντων εἷς, πληγὴν ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἁγίῳ, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπώλεσεν "one of those beating him, landing blows on the saint, lost an eye"). Julian performs a miracle by replacing the eye (ἀπεκατέστησεν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὥς μηδὲν πεπονθότα 26. 5 "restored the eye as if there had never been any suffering") and the man converts. It is by healing his sight, that physically and spiritually the blinded man gains vision: he immediately declares 'Ἀληθὴς Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός'. In chapters fifty-one and fifty-nine, the household servants come to take Markianos' wife, Markanilla, away. But ἐγγιζόντων...πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν...ἐγένοντο τυφλοί (51. 13 "the servants approaching her were blinded") προσιόντες δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐτυφλοῦντο (59. 14).

As the purpose of the *Life* is to illuminate and to teach, there are instances of those who do believe Julian and hasten to imitate him. The martyrs are the carriers of light. Thus when they are locked up in a dank prison where the air reeks of the stench of rotting corpses, their very presence, μετέβαλον τὸ σκότος ("turns the darkness to light"). Their conversion is described in terms of the blind turning to the light. Markianos' son Kelsios denies his parents saying 'ἐμὲ μιμήσονται οἱ ἀπὸ σκοτιῶν εἰς φῶς μετελθεῖν ἀγωνιζόμενοι...τοὺς γονεῖς

ἀπαρνοῦμαι' (32. 6 "those who compete to pass from darkness to light, will imitate me...I utterly deny you, my parents"). When the soldiers guarding the group of martyrs decide to convert in chapter thirty-four, they wonder whether they should disregard such a power which they see before them: ἀπὸ τοιοῦτου φωτὸς εἰς σκότος ἐπιστρέψωμεν ("shall we turn from such light to darkness?"). Julian himself uses the metaphor in 49. 28. The culmination of all this occurs in the Great Church where the martyrs' relics are kept and consequently miracles of healing take place. The author concludes 'ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ οἱ τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν' ("for in that place, the blind shall see") cf. Matt 11: 5; Luke 7: 22.

5 διὰ τριάδος ὁμοουσίου There are many instances throughout the *martyrdom* where reaffirmation of the Trinity is proclaimed. Julian tells Markianos during his first interrogation that ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ Τριάδος ὁμοουσίου ἀληθεῖς θρησκευταὶ δεικνύμεθα (21. 5 "we are proved good worshippers through the Trinity which has the same substance") cf. 49. 20; 49. 27 and 49. 35: οὕτως πιστεύεις ὡς ἤκουσας ἓνα εἶναι Θεὸν ἀληθῆ τὸν ὄντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐν ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι; ("do you believe as you heard that there is one true God, the being in the heavens, in the consubstantial Trinity?"). Then there are the more in-depth definitions. Thus in 39. 18 Christ is not only the son of God but he was ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνευ καιροῦ καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ κόσμου ταύτην τὴν σάρκα ἔλαβες ἄνευ σπέρματος ("in the beginning born from the Father without time and for the sake of the world taking this body without seed") and in 57. 16 ὃν γινώσκουσι συναιώνιον καὶ συναῖδιον ἐν ἐνότητι πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ("He Whom they know eternal and coeternal in the unity of the Holy Spirit forever and ever"). This demonstrates a very clear rejection of Arianism. A Eucharistic prayer dated to between 353-360 from S. Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta shows very similar concerns of the relationship between the Trinity [G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Dacre Press, London, 1945), 162ff]. In part of the prayer for communion, the belief in the sacrament as a "drug" or medicine is voiced: it makes all who partake of it

receive a medicine (lit. drug) of life. For Christianity and healing see discussion for chapter 22.

6 οἱ ὑμέτεροι θεοὶ λίθινοί εἰσιν ἢ χαλκοῖ χαλκοῖ - Bauer: as material for making idols; λίθοι - Acts 17: 29; Dt 4: 28. For gods of brass, iron, wood and stone see Daniel 6: 23.

16 οὔτε ἀσφαλῆς οἴκησις ἀμνῶ μετὰ λύκου Mt 10: 16; Lk 10: 3; J 10: 12.

CHAPTER 22

2 τῆς ἀγέλης προπεφθείσης Julian gives an emotional response regarding the group who were in his keeping and who were burnt to death on Markianos' orders (chapter nineteen).

10 καρδιοπλήκτου ἀσθενοῦς ἱατρός καρδιοπλήκτου is a gloss on ἐμβρόντητος Sch. X. An(abasis) 3.4.12 (ed. L. Dindorf). There did not seem to be a word for heart attack in ancient Greek medical terminology. πλήκτου meaning seizure could have been the closest an author could come to when describing a heart attack. Medical terminology was vague, designating καρδία for both the heart and the mouth of the oesophagus [C. R. S. Harris, *The Heart and the Vascular System in Ancient Greek Medicine from Alcmaeon to Galen* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973), esp. 432]. What we call heart failure was probably termed “cardiac passion” (*idem* 434). See also Caelius Aurelianus in Bk II of *De Mortibus Acutis* XXX. Soranus further divides “cardiac passion” into two categories: “common passion” (*cardiomonā*), which is fatal and cardiac syncope (καρδιώσσοντες), which has more physiological effects such as increased sensory activity of the eyes and ears (*idem* 439). Galen also uses the term cardiac affection (καρδιακὴ διάθεσις) [*idem* 440]. Markianos is merely making the point that Julian is a weak and sick man and needs help.

14-16 τυφλὸς φωτίζει...βαδίζοντα ὁδηγεῖ τυφλὸς a symbol and figure of mental and spiritual blindness Mt 15: 14; 23: 16; 23: 24. Philo in his *de Virtibus* 7 wrote, “But if any person...pursue instead the riches of vain opinions, relying on those riches which are blind, instead of on those which are gifted with acute sight and taking a guide for their road who is himself crippled, such men must of

necessity fall down". See discussion for chapter seven. *πλανώμενος*: To let oneself be misled/ deceived. Used since the *Iliad* 23, 321. Also in Gen 37: 15 cf. Mt 24: 24; Lk 21: 8; J 7: 47; Rv 18: 23.

21 ὁ ἱατρὸς Mt 9: 12; Mk 2: 17; 5: 26; Lk 4: 38-44. Christ's ability to heal was one of his most powerful attractions: he healed the blind, the lame, lepers (Lk 5: 12-16), he raised the dead (Eus *HE* 4; Justin *Apol* 1) and performed exorcisms. Luke shows how Jesus saved man both in soul and body, "They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance" (5: 31). Cyril of Jerusalem refers to Jesus as "the doctor of the body and spirit" (*Catechism* 10. 13). Christ's healing was equivalent to a revelation of His infinite capacity of love for mankind [N. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd, London, Edinburgh, 1950), esp. 176]. Throughout this chapter there is an extended metaphor concerning health; being healed spiritually is tantamount to Christianity itself. Thus in 22: 20 Julian says to Markianos οὐκ ἀποφεύγει σε ὁ ἱατρὸς ὁ ἡμετέρος, δι' οὗ πάντες οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἔχουσιν ὑγίειαν ("our doctor will not flee from you, He through Whom all Christians have very true health"). Markianos asks καὶ σὺ μόνος ἀσφαλεστάτην ἔχεις ὑγίειαν? (22. 18 "and you alone have unfailing health?") not quite understanding what Julian means. By his inability to comprehend the message Julian is bringing, by using the same metaphor in a literal sense, Markianos displays his spiritual blindness. The metaphor of health gains its greatest physical expression when the martyrs have been killed and their remains are buried in the Great Church in Antinoopolis (chapters sixty-three and sixty-four). The church becomes a healing shrine, following Christ's proclamation (to the man sick with the palsy), "Man, thy sins are forgiven thee., I say unto thee, 'Arise...and go into thine house'. And immediately he rose up before him...and departed to his own house, glorifying God" (Luke 20: 25). Therefore sickness and sin are synonymous whilst health is the natural reward of faith. Thus in the church ἵνα ὁ ἐρχόμενος μετὰ πίστεως εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦται ὑγίειας, ἀφ' οἵασδήποτε συνέχεται νόσου (64: 3 "he who comes with faith could be is granted health, no matter what the disease").

CHAPTER 23

- 1 τοῖς δημίοις public executioners: Plato, *Republic* 439c; Lysias 13. 56.
- 2 ἐκταθήσεται εἰς μάστιγας Julian's first torture.
- 8 τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπώλεσεν also symbolic: see chapter twenty-one.

CHAPTER 24

- 4 ἵνα τῷ ἀποστάτῃ...τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν Julian's third chance.

CHAPTER 25

- 6 οὖρον urine is presumed to banish evil spirits. It is mentioned in a fragment of a demotic Greek magical papyrus [*PDM* xii 76-107] = (*PGM* XII 453-65) in a spell for separating a man from a woman. Unfortunately the papyrus is so fragmentary that the instructions for where and how the urine is used have disappeared. *PDM* xiv 636-69 uses urine in a spell to make a woman love a man and in *PDM* xiv 956-60 it is used as an early pregnancy test (urinate on a plant and you can tell if you are pregnant if the plant is scorched the next morning - if it is, you are not). In this case, urine may have been used simply because it gave off such a bad odour and thus was considered a powerful agent to banish "evil".
- 12 βάλαμον Balsam was renowned for its fragrance. See 48. 5-7.

CHAPTER 27

- 7 πρᾶγμα ὁρῶ μηδέποτε ἀκουσθέν 1 Cor 2: 9; cf. Isa 64: 4.
- 12 αἰτῶν LSJ - ray of light; Lampe - as supernatural envoy, *Acta Andrew and Matthew* 17. Also as figure of angelic power: Dionysius Areopagus *de caelesti hierarchia* 15. 8.

CHAPTER 28

- 3 μονογενὴς emphasised.
- 7 ὥς ἀσκὸς πεφουσημένος cf. Mt 9: 17

20 διαδοχὴν Referring to a family's expectations of progeny. See Chapter Two, 79-81.

23 συναφθεῖς also used for sexual intercourse. Plays with διαδοχὴν in initial clause.

CHAPTER 29

2 τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἣν ἐνεδέδυτο ἀπέβαλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ The boy casts off his clothing. He is physically trying to separate himself from the world.

11 γινώσκω πατέρα δευτέρας See Chapter Two, 82-86.

17-18 οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ εἰς φυγὴν Kelsios' teachers are scared that they will be held responsible.

CHAPTER 30

3 ὡς κηρὸς ἐν πυρὶ κατεκάησαν PGM IV (2373-2440) and PGM IV (3125-71) give instances of how commonly wax was used in spells in order to mould figures. Wax was therefore perhaps a metaphor that the audience could easily identify with, given that the magical papyri "reflect an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. (They exhibit) a strong influence of Egyptian religion...expressed in Greek, Demotic and Coptic...Most texts are mixtures of Egyptian, Greek and Jewish religion", [H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986), xlv-xlvi].

CHAPTER 31

3 τὸν καρπὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γαστρὸς Markianos is emphasising how much Kelsios is a part of him. Manuscript D has ἐλπίδος (hope/ expectation), to express this meaning.

6 ὥσανεὶ πεντακοσίων There are five hundred family servants which gives an indication of the size of the family's wealth and importance.

6-9 λύσσα τοὺς πλοκάμους...τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ Kelsios' mother and father in gestures of funeral lament.

19 σὺ ἀναιτίους τῷ πυρὶ κατηνάλωσας Julian is still angry about his followers, killed in chapter nineteen.

CHAPTER 32

1 ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ῥόδων...εὐωδίας cf. Song of Songs 2: 2, “as the lily among the thorns”.

CHAPTER 33

2 ἐν ἰδιωτικῇ φυλακῇ...παρασχεθῶσιν I have been unable to trace the two different sorts of prisons which are mentioned in the text: ἐν φρουρᾷ (33. 7 & 47) and the πολιτικῇ φυλακῇ (47; 56. 20; 57. 40) which is apparently close to the φρουρᾷ. The only reference I have encountered about prisons in Antinoopolis comes from P. Cairo. Masp I 67002. It is a complaint registered by Dioscorus of Aphrodite, “A group of Aphroditans for no just cause were seized by order of Menas and thrown into a local prison (in Aphrodito). From there they were transferred to a prison in Antinoopolis [εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς Ἀντιναῖο] (where they were tortured)” [L. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1988)].

9 σκωλήκων The first mention of worms. These creatures are a common feature of hell [R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum XCIII (Brill, Leiden, 1998), esp. 166]. The *Apocalypse of Peter* portrays murderers tormented by poisonous animals and worms. This negative portrayal of the lowly worm has its roots in Isaiah 66: 24, ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν (in the singular). Here the worms never sleep, causing the corpse to experience constant gnawing. The persecutors and betrayers of Christ's righteous ones are thus scourged and eaten by unsleeping worms [M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: an Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1983), esp. 116]. Bauckham points out that worms are easily associated with the grave. Jewish Gehenna consists of fire, smoke, brimstone and worms [Bauckham (1998), 95ff].

Markianos is eventually killed by worms (62. 6-7), a punishment evidently seen as just - he is in hell cf. Julian's prediction of his death 57. 30ff.

CHAPTER 34

15 προσεπορίσατο cf. with 10. 27; 35. 20: the "holy trade of men".

CHAPTER 35

1 ἄλλο δὲ δῶρον... The subplot of the seven brothers and Antony now begins. Antony's purpose in the narrative is to baptise the initiated, in this case, Kelsios and the soldiers (who have been converted) prior to their ordeals of martyrdom cf. Cecilia.

2 πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ διωγμοῦ...δουλεύειν θρησκείᾳ exceptions allowing Christian worship seem to have been allowed. The sons are permitted to continue worshipping even after the death of their father.

8 εἶχον πρεσβύτερον μετ' αὐτῶν The martyrs need a priest for (the eventual) baptism.

17 στρατιῶται Χριστοῦ...γενησόμεθα The brothers want to be martyred even though they have been offered an amnesty.

20 προσπορισθέντες continuing metaphor of the market place: men are "supplied" to God cf. 10: 27; 34. 15-6.

CHAPTER 36

18 ἐν τῷ λεληθότι οὐ στεφανοῦται secret Christians are not condoned cf. *Martyrdom of Pionius* chapters 12, 13, 14 (15) and 18 (13-14).

CHAPTER 38

4-6 οὐδὲν...ἐνεθυμήθητε Julian's fourth chance.

CHAPTER 39

15-16 ἐνηλλάγη ἢ ὄψις...χιών Whiter than snow: Ps 51: 7. Julian's physical appearance changes: Aune cites Mk 7: 34 where Jesus looks up to heaven and sighs (ἐστέναξεν) prior to healing a deaf and dumb man [Aune (1980), 1533]. The

action of looking heavenwards is a form of prayer cf. Lk 18: 13. For praying before a miracle, see J 11: 41-2 (also Mk 6: 41; Mt 14: 19; Lk 9: 16; J 6: 11). But prayer did not play a major role in Jesus' wonderworking. After the gaze and the prayer, then came the need for command, thus "young man, I say to you, 'arise'" Lk 7: 14, or "Lazarus, come out" J 11: 43. Here, it is Ἀνάστηθι (39. 27).

26 τετραήμερον Lampe - usual epithet ascribed to Lazarus. Appropriate in these circumstances.

CHAPTER 40

4 πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκείνδς εἶπεν The dead man has been brought back to life and now gives the listeners an account of hell. He first refers to the Ethiopians (for whom see further on in this chapter) and how they brought him to τὰ καταχθόνια and τῇ ἀβύσσῳ. The abyss is a common way to describe hell (Rev 9: 1; 9: 2; 17: 8; 20: 3). τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι τὸ σῶμα τῇ γῇ ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθην refers to Jewish belief of Creation: 4 Ezra 7: 32, "And the earth shall give back those who sleep in it and the dust those who dwell silently in it and the chambers shall give back the souls which have been committed to them" [See also Bauckham (1998), 271]. By bringing Athanasios back to life, Julian not only demonstrates his power but gives Athanasios a chance to relate to his living audience what hell is like, thus giving them full warning of the fate that awaits sinners.

5 Αἰθιοπῶν The portrayal of demons as Ethiopians is not new. They feature in the literature of the desert fathers as the demon of pride (*Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 7. Also in *Apophthegmata Patrum*: Arsenius 32 and Arsenius 33 cf. Cyril of Scythopolis' *Life of Euthymius*, chapter 50 (74. 15ff), "then the saint in a fit of indignation grasped the black cowl and tore it with difficulty from my head. In his hand it took on the appearance of a small Ethiopian darting fire from his eyes". Ethiopians also figure as devils in the West in the works of John Cassian (*Collationes Patrum* 1. 21: the devil in "figura Aethiopis tetri" and in *Coll* 2. 13; 19. 6). Cassian, of course, was heavily influenced by the desert fathers. The association of Ethiopians with devils is still present in the twelfth century in the dream of Gregory of Thrace. Gregory vividly reports on the death of one

Theodora who observed, “I lay at my last gasp, seeing plainly a crowd of Ethiops standing in a circle around my bed, crowding around, making a row, practising cold deceits and illusions, like dogs and wolves, roaring like a stormy sea, putting their heads together to confuse me, bellowing, moaning, croaking, howling, growling in chorus, making enquiry into my actions, passing papers round in their hands, exchanging mocking looks on their dark and sinister faces, a sight that seemed to me more frightening and more bitter than the sight of the Gehenna of fire” [cited in G. Every, “Toll Gates on the Airway”, *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1970), 143]. Quite why and how this characterisation evolved is uncertain. Christides observes that it was common for the Byzantines to call everyone from North Africa to the equator, Αἰθίοπες. “Following the classical tradition, they believed that the word Αἰθίωψ came from the word αἶθω = καίω. Thus Αἰθίωψ means ‘the person whose face has been burnt’ by the sun” [V. Christides, “The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources”, *Byzantinoslavica* 43 (1982), 8-17, esp. 11]. In the *Life*, Ethiopians are given animal attributes: teeth like lions and nails like an eagle's (talons), as well as fiery eyes (40. 6-7). Himmelfarb has pointed out that the demons of hell are usually animals such as lions [Himmelfarb (1983), 119]. Here, the author is giving these bestial attributes to his own demons. The description of the Ethiopians is also reminiscent of apocalyptic literature. In Daniel 4: 33 Nebuchadnezzar is described thus, “his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers and his nails like birds' claws” and in 7: 19, the fourth beast is one “whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass”. The Beast in Revelation 13 is composed of several animals. Thus the features ascribed to the Ethiopians come from apocalyptic literature. This link to Revelation is further strengthened by the two men clad in white who arrive to fetch Athanasios from hell (ἦλθον δύο λευχειμονοῦντες) cf. Rev 3. 5; 6. 9-10; 7: 9 and 7: 13-14.

24 τὰ κλείθρα τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ αὐτοῦ σφραγισθῆναι cf. Daniel 6: 17, “and a stone was brought and laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet and with the signet of his lord”. This happened just before Daniel was thrown into the lions' den. Here, the sealing occurs before the

martyrs have their first collective torture in the burning vats of pitch, asphalt and brimstone.

CHAPTER 41

5 λέβητες ...πολλοῦ δὲ φόβου ἐμβληθείσης πίσσης καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ θειάφου In accordance with the emperors' order (37. 15-6) cf. Rev 9: 17-18 brimstone; Rev 20: 10 lake of fire and brimstone.

CHAPTER 42

5-6 οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐβόων See Chapter Two, 81

9 οὐδὲ νεκρῶν ἀκούει reference to Athanasios.

CHAPTER 43

6 εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλητε their sixth chance.

9 ὧ ἀκορεστε αἰσχύνῃ A great part of Markianos' distress is his sense of shame

CHAPTER 44

1 ὁ δὲ σεβάσμιος νεανίσκος Κέλσιος The name of Markianos' son is finally given. Kelsios now enters the story in his own right.

15-16 οὐδὲ ἐμὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσεις Markianos agrees to this probably thinking that his wife will change her son's mind. Kelsios thinks of converting his mother (the woman) rather than his father.

CHAPTER 45

1 ὁ ἡγεμών, μὴ ὑποφέρων ἰδεῖν καϊόμενον τὸν υἱόν Markianos cannot cope with the thought of his son's death and leaves it to his assessor.

2 τὸν συγκάθεδρον advisor to magistrate - Palladius *HL* 62; Socrates *HE*

7.20-3 ὃς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀρδαβουρίου συγκάθεδρος ἦν.

9 ἅγιος Κέλσιος Kelsios is now elevated to sainthood.

10 εἰρήνην διδούς τῷ πατρί usually part of the liturgy. By the fourth century, εἰρήνη πᾶσιν was the bishop's greeting in the liturgy.

12-13 ἀνεκόχλαζεν ἡ πίσσα extreme heat cf. furnace in Daniel 3: 19; 4: 16; 4: 23.

CHAPTER 48

1 ἐκινήθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν cf. 7. 1; 14. 1.

2 ἡ εἰωθυῖα ὁσμὴ the odour of sanctity which always accompanies divine intervention cf. 14. 4.

6 κρίνων καὶ ῥόδων cf. 6. 9-10 again to denote virginity and martyrdom. ῥόδων, roses, flower very early in Egypt according to Theophrastus, *HP* 6. 8. 6, “..position and a suitable climate contribute most to the fragrance of roses, giliflowers and other flowers. Thus in Egypt, while all other flowers and sweet herbs are scentless, the myrtles are marvellously fragrant”.

7 βαλσάμου cf. 25. 12. Theophrastus, *HP* 9. 6. 1 ff places balsam of Mecca in his list of ἀρώματα. Its main attribute is its “exceedingly great and rich” fragrance “so that that which comes from a small amount is perceived for a wide distance...”. 9. 6. 4 highlights the difficulties obtaining balsam in large quantities and thus its corresponding preciousness. It has to be cultivated and “from the larger park are obtained twelve vessels containing each about three pints...; the pure gum sells for twice its weight in silver, the mixed sort at a price proportionate to its purity”.

νάρδου spikenard *Nardostachys Jatamansi* – Theophrastus, *HP* 9. 7. 2 again includes it in his ἀρώματα which mentions “cassia, cinnamon, cardamon, spikenard, nairon, balsam of Mecca, crocus, myrrh, kypeiron, ginger-grass, sweet-flag, sweet marjoram, lotos and dill” cf. *LXX* Song of Songs 1.12, “While the king sitteth at his table, my spikenard sendeth forth the smell thereof”. Thus all the plants and flowers that Markianilla senses are renowned for their exceptional fragrance.

CHAPTER 49

3-4 ὁ ἰατρὸς...ὑγίειαν See chapter twenty-two.

4 τραυμάτων mortal wounds now, in keeping with the medical metaphor.

42 ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος σελήνην κατέστησεν The inclusion of the moon adds to the general background of Egyptian belief, in the same way as magic. Iamblichus, in *de mysteriis* VIII 2-3 wrote, "another sovereignty, over the whole of mortal nature, they give to the moon". Fowden discussed the deep belief held by the Egyptians in the power of the moon as represented by the god Thoth [Fowden (1986), 22]. He quotes an inscription from the temple of Amun at Hibis (Davies, *Temple of Hibis*, pl. 31), "(the moon) ruler of the stars, distinguishes seasons, months and years". Thus Thoth and by affiliation the moon, becomes the Lord of Time and hence controller of Fate. The localisation of Thoth's cult was at Hermoupolis Magna which was very near to Antinoopolis. The city of Antinous would very probably have picked up influences.

CHAPTER 50

1 σύντρομος ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος cf. 7. 1; 14. 1.

2-3 ἐπίστευσα· δι' ὃ ἐλάλησα 2 Cor 4. 13, "I believed and therefore have I spoken"

6 πατὴρ αὐτῆς γεγονὼς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι See Chapter Two, 77-79.

CHAPTER 51

9 ἡγεμών Kelsios calls his father "governor". He completely fails to recognise him as his worldly father.

10-11 δι' ὅπερ οὔτε ἐγὼ σε οἶδα πατέρα οὔτε αὐτὴ ἄνδρα See Chapter Two, 82-85.

12 τὴν γυναῖκα...εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀπαχθῆναι Markianos orders his wife to be taken back to where she belongs: in the home.

CHAPTER 52

3 τῷ πυρὶ παραδοθῆναι the seven brothers and twenty soldiers are burnt. Potency of the number seven: Rev 1: 4; 1: 11; 1: 12 (seven churches, seven spirits before His throne, seven golden candlesticks).

CHAPTER 53

3 Μαρκιανὸς οὕτως ἤρξατο their seventh chance.

4 ἀνάξιον ἡγοῦμαι εἰπεῖν A sarcastic reminder of their initial confrontation when Julian was silent (20. 12ff).

25-6 οὐκ ἦλθον εἰρήνην πέμψαι...ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν Mt 10. 33-7, "But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law... He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me"

27-30 υἱὸν χωρίσαι ἐκ πατρός...μαθητῆς Jesus' words renouncing family ties.

CHAPTER 54

2 τοῦ Διὸς ναόν Temple of Zeus in Antinoopolis. I have not been able to trace it.

5 ἡλέκτρου statues/ idols of amber. Od. 4. 73, χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἢ δ' ἐλέφαντος...Telemachos says to Nestor's son, "you see...the flashing of gold, of amber, of silver and of ivory? Of such sort must be the court of Olympian Zeus within". Amber is thus associated with luxury and wealth. Pliny in NH 37. 31ff (37. 49) declares that it is so precious that a small statue made from amber costs more than a group of healthy slaves. He also ascribes healing powers to it against "fevers and diseases", which could be another reason for amber's use as a material for making idols.

8 ἀνοιγέντος τοῦ ναοῦ διὰ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων γενέθλιον the temple is opened once a year, ὃν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἀνοίγεσθαι τοῦ Διὸς ναόν. P. Beatty Panopolos 2. 164 shows that Diocletian and Maximian had different birthdays [T. C. Skeat, *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Hodges, Dublin, 1964), 145ff]. Maximian's birthday is commemorated by a panegyric by Mamertinus. Seston argues that it celebrates his *dies imperii* (when he assumed the title of Herculus) [W. Seston, "Jovius et Herculus ou l'‘éphiphanie’ des Tétrarques", *Historia* 1 (1950), 257-266, esp. 251ff], but Barnes points out that modern editions take the day of celebration (22nd December) as Diocletian and Maximian's joint birthday (*geminus natalis*) [Barnes (1982), 58, n. 52]. This is complicated by the variants in BM Harleianus 2480. It has *genuinus* or *genui nus* (two separate words). Wistrand and Skeat both consider that these readings are "stemmatically of equal value to the *geminus* of the other manuscripts and deserves preference on historical grounds" [E. Wistrand, "A Note on the 'Geminus Natalis' of the Emperor Maximian", *Eranos* 62 (1964), 131-145; Skeat (1964)].

CHAPTER 57

19 τὰ γλυπτὰ of pagan images/ statues - *Acta Petri et Paulos* 26.

πάντα τὰ γλυπτὰ εἰς οὐδὲν περιέστη· ὁ δὲ ναὸς...ἐβυθίσθη cf. Isaiah 19. 1, "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud and shall come unto Egypt. And the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence and shall fall to the ground".

22 ἐλλήνων Jul Ep 1. 4; Cod. Just 1. 11. 10. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 8. 29.

31 διηνεκεστάτη ἄβυσσος...διαβόλω More descriptions of hell, including the worms.

CHAPTER 58

3 ἡ δὲ ἁγία Βασίλισσα Basilissa reappears to foretell Julian's death. See Chapter Two, 106.

CHAPTER 59

11 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς...ἐξορυχθῆναι Antonios' and Athanasios' eyes are dug out with hooks. ἐξορυχθῆναι LSJ gouge out: Hdt 8. 116 (a Thracian king gouges out his sons' eyes for their disobedience) cf. *Judges* 16. 21, where the Philistines carve out Samson's eyes.

CHAPTER 60

5 τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔλειχον cf. Andronikos in *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* (5. 14), "he (the lion) came close to the man, was now half dead from fright, and gently licked his feet and hands". Part of Blandina's terrible ordeals, described in the *Martyrs of Lyons*, included being thrown to the lions but she remained unharmed.

CHAPTER 61

4 ἀναμιχθῆναι The saints are mixed with common criminals cf. Jesus.
5 ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι They are all finally beheaded.

CHAPTER 62

6 ὁ ἡγεμὼν...σκώληκας ἀναβαλὼν ἐχέπνευσεν Markianos dies, consumed by worms cf. Julian's prophecy 57. 30-32.

CHAPTER 63

3 τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀγίων...οὔσας distinguishing the bodies of the saints from the sinners, allegorical/ metaphorical.
4 ἐν σχήματι παρθένων The saints are emphasised as virgins.
10 ἐν πόλει Ἀντινῶν...λουλίων The date and location of the martyrdoms are re-established. See Chapter One, 36.
13 ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ See Chapter One, 37-38.

CHAPTER 64

5 ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶπεν τὸ θαῦμα to establish sanctity.

6 ἐκεῖ again for authenticity.

6-7 οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ ἕως τῆς σήμερον more attempts to prove authenticity.

9 Ἐπιφανείας See Chapter One, 36.

12 ἡξιώθη υἰείας in both senses. Health is restored.

17-18 καὶ οὐκ ἐκεῖ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπουδῆποτε...ἐκκλησίαι references to other churches of Julian. The *Synaxarium* often mentions the martyrion of Julian several times as being "πλησίον τοῦ φόρου" (near the Forum). *Synax* 204. 14, 232. 54, 377. 19, 758. 6, 762. 23, 800. 21. Janin notes that the foundation of the martyrion was uncertain. It was near to the bronze monument called the *perdix*. Constantine V tried to burn it down together with the monks inside because they did not conform to his iconoclast views [R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin: III les églises et les monastères* (Institut de français d'études byzantins, Paris, 1969), 260-261].

CHAPTER FIVE

The Life of

Andronikos and Athanasia

f. 183

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρονίκου
καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμβίου Ἀθανασίας

1. Πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα κοσμοῦντα τὴν μεγαλόπολιν
Ἀντιόχειαν· τὸ χρηματίσαι τε πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς μαθητὰς
5 χριστιανοὺς, ὥς που φησὶν ὁ θεηγόρος Λουκᾶς, ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ
τῶν πραξέων, καὶ τὸ πασῶν πρωτεύειν καὶ προκαθῆσθαι τῶν ἐν
τῇ ἐνῶπι πόλεων, μετὰ τὴν βασιλίδαν καὶ νέαν ἐπικληθείσαν
Ῥώμην, τὴν Κωνσταντίνου φημί· ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τό τε μέγεθος
καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς, στερρότητά τε τειχῶν καὶ λαοῦ
10 πολυπλήθειαν, ὥς ὀλίγον ἢ καὶ παντελῶς οὐδέν τούτων πρὸς
ἀρετὴν συντελούντων· ὁ δὲ πλεον αὐτὴν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν πάντων φαιδρύνει καὶ εἰς ἄκρον κοσμεῖ, τὸ γενέτειραν
εἶναι καὶ ἄριστον τροφόν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν θεοφιλῶν
ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν χρόνοις καὶ ἄχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς· ἥς δὲ
15 καρπὸς ἐστὶν εὐκλεῆς καὶ ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν προτεθεὶς εἰς διήγησιν, ὁ
θαυμαστὸς τῷ ὄντι ἰ καὶ θεῖος Ἀνδρόνικος· ὁ κατ' ἀμφοτέρους
183^v τοὺς βίους, τὸν κοσμικὸν δηλαδὴ καὶ τὸν μοναδικόν,
κεχαρισμένως ζήσας Θεῷ· ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ τοῦ λόγου προϊόντα
δηλώσει σαφέστερον·

20 2. Οὗτος γένει μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐπιφανέστατος· πλούτῳ

δέ δαψνλέστατος, καὶ τὸ μείζον ἀπάντων, τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 θεοφιλέστατος· ἀργυροπράτης τούτῳ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα· καθ' ὃ τοῖς
 πᾶσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐδείκνυ ἀπρόσκοπον, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ πλεον ἢ τῇ
 σαρκὶ νέμοντα· οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξία προσέκειτο· τὸ εἰρημένον
 25 μετῶν ἐπιτήδευμα, εἰς τοὺς ἀπλήστους ὃ λέγεται πίθους
 ἀντλῶν εἰς πεινήτων δὲ μᾶλλον θεραπείαν, καὶ μοναχῶν
 περιποίησιν, τὰ ἐκ δικαίων πόρων αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τέχνης ὅς'
 ἡμέραι προσγινόμενα χρήματα, ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀφειδῶς
 ἦν ἐκκενῶν· συνῆπτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ νόμῳ γάμου, θυγάτηρ
 30 τῶν ὁμοτέχνων τινός· Ἰωάννης, τούτῳ Ἀθανασία τῇ θυγατρὶ
 ὑπῆρχε τὸ ὄνομα· ἥτις βοηθὸς ἐπὶ καλῷ τῷ ἀνδρὶ γενομένη, τὴν
 183b^r ὄντως ἀθανασίαν φερωνύμως τῆς κλήσεως, σὺν αὐτῷ
 ἐκληρώσατο· οὐ γὰρ πῶς ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς
 περιουσίας ἐπιδοσιν λάβοι καὶ αὔξησιν τῷ συνοικοῦντι ἢ
 35 Ἀθανασία ποτὲ ὑπετίθετο, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ἀμφοτέροις συμβῇ διὰ
 τῆς τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀποβολῆς εὐαρεστήσαι Θεῷ, πάντα
 ἦν καὶ ποιούσα καὶ λέγουσα· τρισὶ γὰρ μοίραις αἰετὰ προσόντα
 αὐτοῖς διαροῦντες, τῇ μιᾷ μὲν, εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀπεχρῶντο καὶ
 τοὺς περὶ τὸν οἶκον· τῇ δευτέρᾳ δέ, εἰς διατροφήν καὶ
 40 περιβολὴν τῶν πτωχῶν· καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν

ἐπιδημούντων τῇ Ἀντιόχῳ, ξένων καὶ μοναχῶν·

3. Ἦσαν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδὸν οἱ μακάριοι οὗτοι, χάριν τῆς θεαρέστου πολιτείας αὐτῶν, διαφερόντως στεργόμενοι· τίκτονται δὲ αὐτοῖς τέκνα δύο· ἄρρεν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον· ὃ δὴ καὶ
 45 Ἰωάννην ἐκάλεσαν· θῆλυ δὲ τὸ μετ' αὐτό, Μαρία ταύτη τὸ ὄνομα· τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ συνθήκας καὶ πίστεως ἀσφαλῆς ἀμφότεροι ἔθεντο τοῦ μηκέτι σύνελθεῖν ἀλλήλοις παρ' ὅλην δὴ
 183b^v τὴν ζωὴν· οὕτως οὖν τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀποταξάμενοι, ὅλην τὴν ῥοπὴν παρείχον τῷ πνεύματι
 50 καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ πνεύματος. Τὰς γὰρ τρεῖς τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἡμέρας, Δευτέραν φημὶ καὶ Τετράδα καὶ Παρασκευήν, ὁ θεῖος μὲν Ἀνδρόνικος, μετὰ τῶν ὁμοτέχνων καὶ ὁμοτρόπων ὅλος ἀπησχολεῖτο εἰς περιποίησιν ἀνδρῶν, ἀναπήρων τὲ καὶ πτωχῶν, λουτροῖς τὲ δουλοπρεπῶς θεραπεύων αὐτοῖς τὸ σῶμα
 55 πεπονηκός, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἀπονέμων ἀνάπαυσιν· ἡ δὲ θαυμασία Ἀθανασία, τῶν ὁμογενῶν γυναικῶν ὅσαις ἔνδειαν εἶχεν ὁ βίος καὶ τι τραχὺ καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ἐπ' ἴσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πρόνοιαν.

4. Τῇ δὲ Κυριακῇ τὸ κυριακὸν ἀμφοτέρους εἶχεν αὐτοὺς ἕωθεν
 60 ἕως ἑσπέρας, τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ Κυρίῳ προσάγοντας· ἡνίκα δὲ τῷ

184

πρώτῳ τῶν παίδων ἔτος ἡβύετο τῆς ἡλικίας δωδέκατον καὶ
 δέκατον τῷ δευτέρῳ, ἀσθένειά τις αὐτοῖς ἑξαπιναίως
 προσέπεσεν. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῶν, οὕπω τέλος ἐχούσης τῆς
 ὀρθρινῆς δοξολογίας, ἦλθε πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ
 65 παιδία αὐτῆς καὶ εὕρισκει αὐτὰ λάβρῳ πυρετῷ συνεχόμενα,
 οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῆς νόσου τὸ αἴτιον καὶ βάρει στεναγμῶν σφόδρα
 κατατεινόμενα· εὐθὺς οὖν στρεφομένη τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ τὴν
 καρδίαν κοπτομένη δεινῶς, ἄνεισιν ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτῆς καὶ
 ἀγκαλισαμένη τὰ ἴδια τέκνα καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἑαυτὴν
 70 παραμείρασα, ὥς οἶόν τε παρεμυθεῖτο τὸ πάθος· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ
 ἄλλῳ τιλὲ φορητὸν ἂν ὑπῆρξε, μήτι γε μητρί καὶ ταῦτα
 φιλόπαιδι, τὸ βλέπειν τῇ νόσῳ κάμνοντας ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς
 παῖδας· εἰ γὰρ καὶ φιλόθεος ἦν ἡ γυνή, ἀλλὰ γε σπλάγχνοις
 τοῖς μητρικοῖς ἐκάμπτετο καὶ αὐταῖς δήπου ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῆς
 75 φύσεως. Ὁ τοίνυν Ἀνδρόνικος ἐπεὶ τέλος εἶχεν ὁ ὀρθρος ἐν τῷ
 οὔκῳ γενόμενος, ὥς πέρα τοῦ ἰμετρίου καθεύδουσαν, ἠτιᾶτο τὴν
 σύζυγον· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτῆς ἤκουσεν ὥς οὐχ' ὕπνου πόθος,
 οἶκτος δὲ τέκνων ὁμοῦ νοσοῦντων ἔνδον ἦν ταύτην
 παρακατέχων· προσελθὼν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀψάμενος, κραταιὰν
 80 εὔρε τὴν ἀρρώστίαν αὐτῶν· ἵν' εἴποιμι τὸ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς,

· 184^v

οὐδὲν οὖν ἀγαινὲς ἢ σκυθρωπὸν εἰπὼν ἢ παθὼν, τοῦτο μόνον
ἐφθέγγατο· *τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου γενέσθω*

5. Καὶ παρευθὺ ἄπεισιν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀγίου
μάρτυρος Ἰουλιανοῦ· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ τεθάφθαι
85 συνέβη· καὶ παρέτεινεν εὐχόμενος ἄχρις ἑκτῆς ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείσε. Ὡς δὲ προσήγγισε τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς
προσευχῆς, ἤκουσε θρήνων καὶ ὀλολυγμῶν· πολλοῦ συρρεύσαντος
ὄχλου εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· εἰσελθὼν δέ, εὔρεν ἀμφοτέρω
90 παιδία νεκρά ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ κλίνῃ κείμενα· καὶ τὴν
σύζυγον, φανερώς ἤδη τῷ πάθει νενυκημένην. Παραχρῆμα γοῦν
185 εἴσεισι τὸν εὐκτήριον οἶκον, ὅς ἦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
πρηνὲς πεσὼν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἄλλός τις καθωρᾶτο Ἰωβ, τὰ
ἐκείνου καὶ διαπραττόμενος καὶ φθειγγόμενος θερμὴν γὰρ ἐκεῖ
τῷ Κυρίῳ, τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ συχνὴν προσαγαγὼν τὴν προσκύνησιν,
95 εὐχαριστῶν ἔλεγεν· *ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ Κύριος ἀφείλετο· ὥς τῷ
Κυρίῳ ἔδοξε, οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο· εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου
εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*· Ἐξελθὼν δέ, παρακαλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο
τὴν βοηθὸν συναποθανεῖν τοῖς τέκνοις ἐφιεμένην, καὶ μὴ δὲ ζῆν
ὅλως ἔτι ἀνεχομένην· "τί γάρ με δεῖ ζῆν", ἔλεγε· περιπαθὲς τε
100 καὶ γοερὸν ὥς εἰκὸς μητέρα φιλότεκνον ὀλολύζουσα· "ἀμφοτέρων

μοι τῶν κλάδων περιηρημένων; πρὸς τίνα τοῦ λοιποῦ βλέψω; ἐν
 τίῃ δὲ τὸ ζέον καταπαύσω τοῦ πάθους; ἅπαις ἢ καλλίπαις
 ἐξαίφνης γεγεννημένη;" Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα τὴν
 Ἀθανασίαν συνείρουν· μετὰ θερμῆς τῆς τῶν δακρύων ἐπιρροῆς,
 185 105 παρακλητικοῖς λόγοις ὁ θεῖος ἐπειρᾶτο ἀνέχειν | Ἀνδρόνικος·
 "μὴ οὕτω γύναι", λέγων· "μὴ κατὰ μίαν τῶν ἀφρόνων καὶ
 ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίδα μὴ κεκτημένων, ἐκτὸς τοῦ προσήκοντος
 λόγου ἀποδύρου τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν τεθνήκασιν,
 ἀλλὰ θεῷ πάντως¹ ζῶσιν ὑφ' οὗπερ ἄρα καὶ προσελήφθησαν,
 110 σοφῶς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν τε καὶ ἐκείνοις οἰκονομήσαντος αὐτὰ μὲν
 γὰρ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν ἄμωμα προσελάβετο πρὶν ἢ γεύσασθαι τῶν
 τοῦ βίου κακῶν· ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν ἀπιδεῖν
 ἐμνηστεύσατο, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἔτι τοῦ περισπῶντος ἡμᾶς καὶ
 πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἐπιστρέφοντος".
 115 6. Τούτοις τὰ εἰκότα τὴν σύζυγον παραμυθησάμενος, περὶ τὴν
 ἐκφορὰν τῶν λειψάνων ἐσπούδαζε. Συνῆλθε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις
 σχεδόν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πατριάρχης σὺν ἅμα τῷ κλήρῳ παντί· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἐκείνῳ ἐτύγχανον ἄγνωστοι διὰ τὸ περιὸν ὥς οἶμαι τῆς
 ἀρετῆς καὶ αἰδέσιμον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ νενομισμένα πάντα τελέσαντες,
 185^v 120 ταφῇ | τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν παίδων δεδώκασιν ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι ναῷ

¹ 109 - corr. ex πάντας U

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καταθέμενοι σὺν τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν·
 τὸν μακάριον μὲν Ἀνδρόνικον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Πατριάρχης ἔχων,
 εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον ὑπέστρεψεν. Ἡ Ἀθανασία δὲ τῷ τάφῳ τῶν
 τέκνων παρέμεινε, δεινῶς κοπτομένη δάκρυσί τε θερμοῖς
 125 περιρρεομένη, καὶ μηδέμιν¹ ὅλως δεχομένη παράκλησιν ἕως
 αὐτὴν ὑπελθὼν ὕπνος καὶ ἄκουσαν ἡσυχάσαι πεποίηκεν· ὁ δὲ
 ὕπνος, ὅναρ εἶχεν αὐτῇ ἐπισταίντα τὸν μάρτυρα, καὶ τοῦ
 ἀνενδότου θρήνου καὶ τῶν ἀσχέτων δακρύων ὥσπερ ἐπιτιμῶντα,
 καὶ τοιαῦτα προσφωνοῦντα καὶ λέγοντα, "τίνος χάριν ὦ γύναι
 130 ἄκαιρά τε καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητα βούλει θρηνεῖν; οὐκ οἶδας ὡς θνητὴ
 οὔσα θνητοὺς παῖδας γεγέννηκας; οὓς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ προδήλως
 ἄρτι θεὸς ὁ φιλόανθρωπος προσλαβέσθαι εὐδόκησε· μὴ κλαῖε
 τοίῳν τὰ τέκνα· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐγερεῖς· κλαῖε δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ἐν
 186^v βίῳ σοι ἐπταισμένα ἃ καὶ ῥᾶον ἢ δυνήσῃ ἀπαλείψαι τοῖς
 135 δάκρυσιν". Τὴν δὲ τούτων ἀκούσασαν, παρευθὺ ὃ τε ὕπνος ἀνῆκε,
 καὶ τὸ πολὺ μετ' ἐκείνου τῆς ἀθυμίας· παρακληθείσης δὲ αὐτῇ
 τῆς ψυχῆς· "εἰ τὰ τέκνα μου ἐπ' ἀληθείας ζῶσιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς",
 ἡρέμα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπελάλει, "διὰ ποῖον λόγον τοῖς θρήνοις
 ἐκτίζομαι;" εἶτα τῇδε κάκεισε τὸν ναὸν περιβλεψαμένη, ἅτε τὸν
 140 ἐν ὕπνοις αὐτῇ τοὺς παρακλητικούς λαλήσαντα λόγους ἰδεῖν

¹ 125 - corr. ex. μὴ δέ μίαν U

γλιχομένη· τοῦ νεωκόρου ἐπύθετο· ὅστις ἦν ἄρα ὁ μοναχός, ὁ
 τὸν ναὸν τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς εἰσελθὼν καὶ συλλαλήσας
 αὐτῇ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν σχήματι ταύτῃ μονάχου ἐφάνη· ὁ δὲ
 νεωκόρος τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἐνεὸς γεγονώς· ἔγνω γὰρ
 145 αὐτὴν θείαν ὀπτασίαν ἑωρακέναί· "οὐδεὶς", ἔφησεν· "ὦ κυρία μου,
 μοναχὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐνταῦθα· τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ θυρῶν ὡς ὁρᾶν ἔχεις,
 187 ὅλων ἡσφαλισμένων". Ἡ δὲ ἐκπλήξει τὲ καὶ ἰφόβῳ συνεχομένη,
 τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καταλαμβάνει· καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διηγείται τὰ ὄναρ
 αὐτῇ καὶ ἑωραμένα καὶ λελαλημένα· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων
 150 διήγησιν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἐμοὶ γλυκύτατε ἄνερ, καὶ τῶν
 φιλτάτων ἡμῶν τέκνων τῷ ζῆν ἔτι παρυπηργμένων, δι' ἐφέσεως
 ἦν ἀποτάξασθαί τε τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡσύχιον βίον
 αὐτομολῆσαι· ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν τέκνων στοργὴ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν βίῳ
 παραμένειν ἀνέπειθε· νῦν οὖν ἐπέειπερ ἡμῖν οὐδέν ἐστιν
 155 ἐμποδών· εἰ ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, μοναστηρίῳ γυναικῶν εὐλαβῶν με
 ἀπόκειρον, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ πρῶτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 φιλανθρωπίας, τὸ αἷσχος ποσῶς τῶν ἐμῶν πλημμελειῶν,
 ἀπονίψωμαι". Τούτων ἐπεὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἀνδρόνικος ἤκουσεν·
 "ὑπάγε γύναι", φησὶ πρὸς αὐτήν· "καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον λογισμόν
 160 μίαν ἐβδομάδα βαθυτέρας φρενὸς ἀπτομένη, δοκίμασον κατὰ

- 187^v σεαυτήν· καὶ εἰ τούτῳ ἐπιμένοις ὀλοσχερώς, τὸ ἰ τοῦ θεοῦ
γενήσεται θέλημα'. Ἡ δέ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν παραδρομὴν τῆς τῶν
ἡμερῶν ἑβδομάδος, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ φρονούσα καὶ
λέγουσα, τῷ ἀνδρὶ διεδείκνυτο· εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκεῖν<ο>ς
- 165 μετακαλεῖται τὸν αὐτοῦ πειθερόν, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν οὐσίαν
ἅπασαν ἐπιδείξας· "ἡμᾶς μὲν", ἔφη· "κύριέ μου, θερμὸς πόθος
εἶλεν ὁμοῦ τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους ἰδέσθαι τε καὶ προσκυνῆσαι·
σὺ δὲ εἵπερ ἡμῖν συμβῇ κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποδημίαν, τὸ
χρέος ἀποτίσαι τῆς φύσεως, ὑπὸ Θεῷ ἐφόρῳ καὶ μάρτυρι, κατὰ
- 170 γνώμην αὐτῷ διάθου τὰ προσόντα ἡμῖν· νοσοκομεῖον τὲ
δειμάμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἡμῶν καὶ ξενοδοχεῖον μοναχῶν". Ταῦτα
εἰπὼν, τὸ οἰκετικὸν ἅπαν μεγαλοψύχως τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς δουλείας
ἀνίησι, καὶ λέγατα τούτοις φιλανθρώπως παρασχὼν ἀπολύει.
- 7.Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης, ἀπόμοιραν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων
- 175 μικρὰν εἰληφώς καὶ ταύτην εἰς διάδοσιν τῶν χρεῖαν ἔχόντων
188 δύο τε τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἰ ἐξήει τῆς πόλεως μετὰ μόνης τῆς
γυναικός· ἥτις ἐπιστραφείσα καὶ ἀνεωγμένης πάσας ἰδοῦσα τοῦ
ιδίου οἴκου τὰς θύρας, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀνατείνασα, "ὁ Θεὸς", ἔφη σὺν δάκρυσιν· "ὁ πάλαι εἰπὼν
- 180 Ἀβραὰμ τῷ προπάτορι· ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς

- συγγενείας σου δι' ὃν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης τό γε νῦν
 ἀλλοτριούμεθα· αὐτὸς ὁδήγησον ἡμᾶς εἰς ὁδὸν εὐθείαν καὶ τῷ
 φόβῳ σου περιτείχισον· ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν, διὰ τὸ ὄνομά
 σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἀνεωγμένον εἰάσαμεν θλιβομένῳ παντί· τοίνυν μὴ
 185 δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποκλείσης φιλόανθρωπε δέσποτα ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν τῶν
 σῶν οἰκετῶν τὴν θύραν τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς μετόχους
 ἀνάδειξον τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἡμῖν· ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος πάντων
 ἀμνημονήσας".
8. Ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων δάκρυσι περιρρεομένη, ἡ σεμνοτάτη
 190 Ἀθανασία σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς Θεόν¹ εὐξαμένη τὴν πόλιν
 ἐξέλιπεν. Ἐπεὶ δε τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους καταλαβόντες, τὰς
 188^v εὐχὰς ἀποδεδώκασι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἰ πολλοὺς θεοφιλεῖς περιελθόντες
 πατέρας καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ἐξ' αὐτῶν καρπωσάμενοι·
 τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπιδημήσαι διέγνωσαν· ἐν ᾗ καὶ γενόμενοι ἔν
 195 τε τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἀγίου Μηνᾶ τὴν οἴκησιν θέμενοι, τῶν
 αὐτοῦ χαρίτων ἀφθόνως ἀπέλαυσαν· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
 μοναχῷ τιλὶ περιτυχὼν ὁ θεῖος Ἀνδρόνικος πρὸς τὴν Σκῆτιν
 ὁδεύοντι, συνοδεῦσαι αὐτῷ ἡρετίσατο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπαίρειν
 ἔμελλεν, ἡ Ἀθανασία ἐν συνοχῇ καρδίας καὶ δάκρυσιν, ἐδέϊτο
 200 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην παραλαβεῖν· ὁ δὲ σαφῶς εἰδὼς

¹ 190 – corr. ex. Θεοῦ U

ἄβατον γυναῖξιν εἶναι τὴν Σκῆτιν, παντάπασι πρὸς τοῦτο
 ἀντέτεινε· διεβεβαιούτο δὲ ἅμα τῷ φθᾶσαι τὴν Σκῆτιν καὶ τοὺς
 ἐν αὐτῇ προσκυνῆσαι πατέρας, ὑποστρέψαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν·
 καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν διαθέσθαι καλῶς· "τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον", φησὶ· "τῷ
 205 ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου παράμενε μάρτυρος· αὐτὸν μετὰ Θεὸν ἔχουσα
 σκέποντά σε καὶ περιέποντα". οὕτως εἰπὼν καὶ αὐτὴν
 ἀσπασάμενος, δι' ἡμερῶν δύο, τὴν Σκῆτιν καταλαμβάνει, ὡς δὲ
 189 ἡκηκόει τὰ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἰαοίδιμον Δανιήλ· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 ὅλως οἶδε κρύπτειν τὸν ἐργάτην ἢ ἀρετὴν, ὅτι μὴ δὲ τὸ φῶς
 210 τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ ὁδεύοντας, αὐτῷ φοιτῆσαι διέγνω· καὶ τὰ τοῦ
 σκοποῦ ἀναθέσθαι· πρὸς δέ, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὁμοζύγου γνωρίσαι·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποίησεν, ἐπιτρέπεται ὑπὸ¹ τοῦ γέροντος
 ἀγαγεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἤχθη, πλείστα
 κατηχήσας ὁ γέρων αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἄχρι τέλους ἔχεσθαι
 215 παραινέσας, γράμμασιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Θηβαῖδα ταύτην
 ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ὅπερ οὕτω τῶν Ταβενησιωτῶν
 ἐπωνόμασται· συμπρόντος αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ θαυμασίου·
 ὃς ταῖς ἐκεῖ μοναζούσαις ἐντάξας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκείρας, εὐθὺς
 ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν γέροντα· λαβὼν δὲ ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκείνου
 220 χερσὶ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα, ἔμεινε παρ' αὐτῷ ἔτη

¹ 212 – corr. ex. πρὸς U

δώδεκα· κατ' ἵχνος τούτῳ βαίνων, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος μετερχόμενος·
καὶ εἴ τι καλὸν ὑπῆρχε παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὥς οἶόν τε
ἀποματτόμενος, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ οἶονεῖ τινα θησαυρὸν ὁ μακάριος
παρακαπιθέμενος.

- 189^v 225 9. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἰ δωδεκάτου ἐνιαυτοῦ, εὐχὴν
αἰτήσας τὸν γέροντα καὶ λαβὼν, εὐθὺ τῶν Ἀγίων Τόπων
ἐβάδιζε, συντονώτατα δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀνύων· περὶ καιρὸν
δήπου τὸν μεσημβρινόν, ἔγνω μικρόν τι ἐπιοχεῖν τὴν πορείαν
καταφλεγείς τῷ καύσωνι· καὶ δὴ ὑποκάτω δένδρου τινὸς
230 ἐκαθέσθη διαναπαύσασθαι· καὶ ἰδοὺ, κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐρχομένη ὥράθη αὐτῷ ἐν ἀνδρικῷ τῷ σχήματι, ὥς
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀγίους δὲ Τόπους καὶ αὐτὴ ὁδεύουσα ἦν. Ἄμα δὲ τῷ
προσαγορεύσαι ἀλλήλους, ἡ θεία μὲν Ἀθανασία οὐκ ἠγνόησε τὸν
μακάριον Ἀνδρόνικον· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἐπέγνω αὐτήν· πῶς γὰρ
235 ἂν καὶ ἐπέγνω· τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς τῇ κακοπαθείᾳ ἀλλοιωθείσης
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αἰθιοπικώτερον μεταβληθείσης; ἐπεὶ δὲ πυθομένη
ἐμάθανε παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῦτον χωρεῖν, ἡξίου
συνοδεῦσαι αὐτῷ· τοῦ δὲ καταθεμένου, τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυον
ἀμφότεροι, τῆς ἀνυπευθύνου φροντίζοντες εἰς δύναμιν σιωπῆς.
190 240 Ὅδευσάντων ἰ δὲ αὐτῶν διάστημα ἱκανόν, ἡρώτα τὸν θεσπέσιον

- Ἀνδρόνικον ἢ σεμνοτάτη γυναικῶν Ἀθανασία· "ὄντως ἀδελφὲ",
λέγουσα· "οὐ μαθητὴς εἶ τοῦ ἁββᾶ Δανιήλ;" Ὁ δὲ, "ναί", φησιν·
εἶτα πάλιν ἐκείνη· "οὐκ Ἀνδρόνικος ὀνομάζει;" τοῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
συμφ<ωνή>σαντος, αὖθις ἡ Ἀθανασία· "αἱ τοῦ γέροντος" ἔφη·
245 "εὐχαί εἶησαν ἡμῖν συνοδεύουσαι"· ἐπεφώνησε δὲ ὁ θεῖος
Ἀνδρόνικος, τὸ ἀμήν· ὥς δὲ κατέλαβον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοὺς
Ἀγίους προσκυνήσαντες τόπους καὶ τοὺς ἐκείσε πάντα
περιελθόντες πατέρας, τὰ τε πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ οἰκοδομὴν τῆς
ἀσκήσεως αὐτῶν πανταχόθεν συλλεξάμενοι· αὖθις ἦλθον εἰς
250 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ κατήχθησαν εἰς τι κελλίον παρὰ τῷ
Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ·
10. Τοῦ μακαρίου δὲ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπειγομένου ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν
γέροντα ὥστε τὴν αὐτοῦ κομίσασθαι εὐχήν, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἁββᾶς
Ἀθανάσιος· "εἴ σοι ἀρεστόν ἐστιν ἀδελφέ, ὑπόστρεψον ἐνταῦθα
255 τὸν γέροντα ἀσπασάμενος· καὶ καθάπερ σωπῶντες ἅμα
190^v ὠδεύσαμεν τὴν πρὸς ἡ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ὁδόν,
οὕτω καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ βίου μετὰ τῆς ἴσης σωπῆς τε καὶ
ἡσυχίας, ἐν τοῖς ᾧδε διέλθωμεν ἄχρις οὗ καταντήσωμεν εἰς τὴν
Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου χειραγωγούμενοι".
- 260 Συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου ταῦτα ποιῆσαι, τὸν

μὲν εὐθύμως ἄγαν εἰς τὴν Σκῆτιν παραπέμπει ὁ ἀδελφός· αὐτὸς
 δὲ προσμένων ἦν τοῦτον ἐκείσε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Σκῆτιν καταλαβὼν
 ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος, καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἰδὼν τε καὶ ἀσπασάμενος Δανιήλ·
 τούτῳ ἐγνώρισεν ἅπαντα τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ τέλος ἐπήγαγεν
 265 ὥς συντεθειμένον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ συνοδεύσαντι ἀδελφῷ,
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διαγαγεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
 Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου μονήν· ὁ γέρων· "ἄπελθε τέκνον", φησί· "καὶ
 μέινον μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀγαπῶν· ἴσθι γὰρ τοῦτον,
 δι' ἅκραν ἀρετὴν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλων
 270 συντάττεσθαι". Ταῦτα εἶρηκεν ὁ θεσπέσιος Δανιήλ, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν
 191 δήπου τὰ ἱκατὰ τὴν μακαρίαν Ἀθανασίαν· πῶς γάρ; ἐπεὶ μηδὲν
 τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην ἀπέκρυψε ὁ Θεὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀναμένων
 ὥς ἔουκε τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῶν πραγμάτων, τῆς ἀληθείας
 φανέρωσιν. Συνταξάμενος τοίνυν τῷ γέροντι ὁ ἀοίδιμος
 275 Ἀνδρόνικος, τάχει πολλῶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλαμβάνει· καὶ τὸ
 ἀπ' ἐκείνου, συνῆν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀθανασίῳ· ὁμόστεγος, ὁμοδίαιτος,
 καὶ παντελῶς ἀχωχριστος αὐτοῦ γνωριζόμενος. Ἐμειναν οὖν
 ἀμφότεροι σὺν ἀλλήλοις ἕτερα δώδεκα ἔτη· τοῦ σώματος μὲν
 βραχὺν ἢ οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦ
 280 κράτος νουνεχῶς ἐν πᾶσι παρέχοντες· σὺδαμῶς μέντοι γνώριμον

γέγονεν Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ θαυμασίῳ, ὥς ἡ σοφὴ τῷ ὄντι Ἀθανασία
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὔσα ἐτύγχανε.

11. Πολλάκις οὖν ὁ μέγας Δανιήλ, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τούτων ἐφοίτα
καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, ἀπηλλάτετο· ποτὲ
285 γοῦν ἀπελθὼν ὁ γέρων καὶ προσομιλήσας αὐτοῖς τὰ θεοφιλῇ καὶ
191^v σωτήρια καὶ συνταξάμενος, πρὶν ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐξελθεῖν
ἐπιστραφεῖς, τὸν ἀββᾶν εἶδεν Ἀνδρόνικον, ὅλῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου
ποδί τρέχοντα πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ σὺν δάκρυσιν ἀπαγγέλλοντα ὅτι
ὁ ἀδελφὸς πάτερ Ἀθανάσιος, *πρὸς Κύριον ὑπάγει* "χρὴ οὖν σε
290 τοῦτον ἐφοδιάσαι κἂν τῷ τέλει, ταῖς σαῖς ἀγίαις εὐχαῖς".
Ὑποστρέψας τοίνυν ὁ γέρων, εὕρισκε τοῦτον ἀναρῶς τοῦ
σώματος ἔχοντα· ὃν ἐπεῖπερ εἶδεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀθανάσιος, ἤρξατο
κλαίειν καὶ πικρῶς ἀποδύρεσθαι· πρὸς ὃν ὁ θεῖος ἔφησε Δανιήλ·
"οὐ δακρύων οὔτε μὴν κοπετοῦ τέκνον· ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς σοι
295 καθέστηκεν αἷπιος εὐφροσύνης δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως· πρὸς
γὰρ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν σου καμάτων ἀντίδοσιν ἄγει σε, καὶ τὸν
τῆς δικαιοσύνης παρὰ Θεοῦ στέφανόν σοι μνηστεύεται". Πρὸς
ὃν ὁ μέγας ἔφησεν Ἀθανάσιος, "οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πάτερ τὸ κλαίειν
ἐμοί, ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη τέλος λαμβάνει, διὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν δὲ
300 Ἀνδρόνικον". Εἶτα, οὐκ εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκείνου, τῷ γέροντι

192

ἐνετείλατο, "μετὰ τὸ θάψαι με", λέγων· "εὐρήσεις ἰ χάρτην τινὰ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ ᾧ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἀναγέγραπται· τοῦτον αὐτὸς πρῶτον ἀνάγνωθι· εἶτα τῷ ἀδελφῷ δὸς Ἀνδρονίκῳ". τί τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα; εὐχὴν τοῦ θείου ποιήσαντος γέροντος, καὶ τῷ

305

μεγάλῳ Ἀθανασίῳ τῶν ἀχράντων καὶ ἀθανάτων· κοινωνήσαντος μυστηρίων, ἐπεὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἤδη τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ ἀναλύσεως ἦλθε ἐξ' οὐρανοῦ, μετακαλεῖται τὸν θεῖον Ἀνδρόνικον· καὶ ὥς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἐπόμενον ἔξει

310

προαγορεύει προφητικώτατα, τὸν τε συνέχοντα θρῆνον αὐτῷ καταπαύει καὶ παραινεῖ μᾶλλον χαίρειν, ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκδημίᾳ· περιττὸν λέγων εἶναι θρηνεῖν ὃν πρὸς βραχὺ τούτου διαιρεθέντα, τάχιον ἀπολήψεται· ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν σχηματίσας ὥς ἔδει καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐξάρας, τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀπῆλθε μακαρίαν πορείαν.

315

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ κηδεῦσαι τοῦτον ἐγένοντο, ἰδοὺ, τῇ φύσει εὐρέθη γυνή· τοῦτο δὲ πάντας ἐξέπληξεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδέποτε τὰ κατὰ τὴν μακαρίαν ταύτην Ἀθανασίαν ἰ τοῦ ἐγνώσθη, ἄχρι τοῦ τέλους αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ θαυμαστῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ, ὅς ἐκείνῃ δωδεκαετῇ χρόνον συνδιατώμενος ἦν·

192^v

320

πέμψας τοίνυν ὁ γέρων, πάντας μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ

- Σκήπει πατέρας· οἱ καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀπήντησαν, λευκὰς περιβεβλημένοι στολὰς κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς· συνέρρευσε δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοί, μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ τὸ
- 325 τελευταῖον τοὺς ἀσκητικούς ἀγῶνας ἡ μακαρία διήνυσεν· οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον παρεγένοντο μοναχῶν· ἐξέπληττε γὰρ ἅπαντας τὸ καινότατον τοῦ ἀκούσματος· ὅπως ἡ γυνὴ ἀνδρικήν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπεδείξατο, καὶ τὸ πάντων παραδοξότερον, μέσον
- 330 ἀνδρῶν οἰκοῦσα καὶ αὐτὸν συνοικοῦντα τὸν σύζυγον ἔχουσα. *Μετὰ κλάδων οὖν καὶ βαίων* τὸ τίμιον τῆς μεγάλης Ἀθανασίας ἐξεκόμισαν λείψανον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ εἰκότα πάντα τελέσαντες,
- 193 τῇ Ἰσορῳ κατετέθεντο τῶν πατέρων.
13. Ἐμεινεν οὖν ὁ γέρων ἐκείσε ὥστε τελέσαι τῇ μακαρίᾳ τὰ
- 335 κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ἡμέραν ὡς ἔθος τελούμενα· εἶτα πρὸς τὴν Σκῆτιν μέλλων ἀπαίρειν, μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ λαβεῖν ἡρετίσατο καὶ τὸν θεῖον Ἀνδρόνικον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο· "ἔνθα ἡ κυρία μου", λέγων· "ὦ πάτερ, τελευτήσαι μὲ χρή". Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐκείσε πᾶσιν ἀδελφοῖς συνταξάμενος ὁ μέγας αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάττετο·
- 340 μήπω φθάσαντα τὸν ναὸν παρελθεῖν τοῦ ἐν μάρτυσι μεγίστου

Μηνᾶ, τῶν μοναχῶν τις τοῦτον καταλαμβάνει ὁ ἀδελφός, λέγων
 “ Ἀνδρόνικος ἄρρωστίᾳ τιλ πάτερ συνέχεται.” Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ
 γέρων τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σκήτει πέμψας πάλιν μετακαλεῖται, ὁ ἀββᾶς
 λέγων Ἀνδρόνικος καταλαμβάνειν μέλλει τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 345 Ἀθανάσιον· οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες, ὁμοθυμαδὸν παρεγένοντο,
 πόθου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πτεροῖς κουφίζόμενοι· ἔτι δὲ ζῶντα
 εὐρόντες καὶ τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ εὐλογίας τυχόντες, προέπεμψαν
 αὐτὸν χαρᾶς ἔμπλεω πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· πολλὰ τούτῳ
 193^v προ<σφ>θεγξάμενοι ἐξόδια ῥήματα· καὶ πρέ | σβιν αὐτὸν
 350 θερμότατον ἔχειν, πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐξαιτησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 κοιμηθέντος αὐτοῦ ταφῆς οἱ παρόντες ἐμέμνηντο ἕρις μεγίστη
 συνέπεσε· τοῖς τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου καὶ τοῖς ἐν Σκήτει
 πατράσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίουσαν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει λαβεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ
 τίμιον λείψανον· τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο ἀπήρεσκε χρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν
 355 ἔλεγον τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνταφῆναι Ἀθανασίῳ. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ
 πατρὶ Δανιὴλ συνεδόκει· ὑ<περ>ίσχυον δὲ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν
 Σκῆτιν...¹

¹ Des. mut. U

5.2 *THE LIFE AND CONDUCT OF OUR SAINTLY FATHER ANDRONIKOS AND HIS WIFE ATHANASIA*

1 There are many and diverse things adorning the great city of Antioch. The fact that the disciples were called Christians first in that city, as the God-inspired Luke says at some point in the Book of Acts¹ and the fact that it was pre-eminent and the first of all the cities in the East, after the Queen City, called New Rome, I mean the city of Constantine <Constantinople>. For I will not speak of its greatness or beauty, the strength of its walls and the multitude of its people, as these contribute little or nothing to virtue. But what illuminates and adorns it most highly beyond all other things, is being the mother and excellent nourisher to both God-loving men and women in the past and until today. Indeed a famous fruit of this city <Antioch> is the remarkable and holy Andronikos, who is now placed before us as the subject of our narrative. He lived both lives, that is to say, the worldly and the solitary one in a way pleasing to God, as the following narrative will show more clearly.

2 He came from a most distinguished family in Antioch, he had abundant wealth and, greatest of all, he led a God-loving way of life. He was a banker by profession. In his trade he gave no offence to anyone at all and was concerned more with his soul than his body, for he was not characterised by greed. In pursuing his aforementioned profession, drawing by the bucketful as the saying goes, he gave freely with both hands the honest earnings he accrued daily from his profession in order to take care of the poor and provide succour for monks.

He married a woman lawfully, the daughter of a fellow banker whose name was Ioannes. The name of his daughter was Athanasia who became a

¹Acts 11:26

helper to her good husband and was allotted with him the true immortality, after which she was named. For Athanasia did not propose to her husband ways by which they would increase and add to their wealth and fortune, but said and did everything <she could> so that both of them would be pleasing to God rather by throwing away their wealth. For they always distributed their income into three parts. The first was sufficient for the household and for those in it, the second for the feeding and clothing of the poor and the rest for the care of those who came to stay in Antioch, visitors and monks.

3 These blessed ones were loved exceptionally by almost everyone in the city, because of their pleasing-to-God way of life. Two children were born to them. The first was a boy and they called him Ioannes; the one after him was a girl and her name was Maria. After this, they both entered into agreement and pledged with unfailing trust to no longer unite with each other for the rest of their lives. Therefore having bid farewell to the flesh and all carnal desires, they devoted all their effort to the spirit and spiritual works. For three of the days in the week, I mean, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, the holy Andronikos together with his fellow bankers and other like-minded men, were preoccupied with caring for disabled and poor men, by bathing as if they themselves were servile, and caring for those whose bodies were suffering, and dispensing every other relief. The remarkable Athanasia, with other like-minded women, provided exactly the same care as her husband, to women whose lives were stricken by poverty or any harsh or difficult situation.

4 On Sundays they both kept the Lord's service from dawn until evening, offering prayers to the Lord. At the time when the elder of the children reached twelve, the age of puberty, and the second child was ten, an illness suddenly fell on them. Their mother came to the house to check on her children, though the morning service had not yet finished, and found them afflicted by a violent fever, for this was the cause of their illness,

completely stretched out and crying with deep moans. Immediately, worried in her innermost being and struck violently in her heart, she threw herself on the bed and embraced her own children, placing herself in-between so as to soothe their suffering. This would not even have been bearable to anyone, especially a mother who loved her children so much, to see her children worn down by disease. For even though the woman loved God, she was nevertheless tortured by maternal love and indeed, by the demands of nature.

When matins had ended Andronikos came home and scolded his wife for oversleeping. When he heard her say that what kept her in the house was not desire for sleep but pity for the children who were both ill, he went in, touched the children and found them very ill. To quote the Holy Scriptures, he did not say anything base or gloomy but said only this "*The will of the Lord be done.*"

5 And so he immediately went out of the city to the church of the Holy Martyr Julian, where his parents happened to be buried, and he remained there praying until the sixth hour of the day. As he drew near to the house on his return from praying, he heard wailing and lamentation. A great crowd streamed to his house. Once he entered he found both his children lying dead in one and the same bed and his wife clearly overcome by grief. So at once he went to the chapel, which was in his house, and fell to the ground face downwards, looking like another Job, doing and uttering the same things. For there praying feverishly to the Lord and making frequent obeisance. He thanked God, and kept saying, "*The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. As it appeared fit to the Lord, thus it has come to pass. Blessed be the name of the Lord to the ages.*"² Then he went out and attempted to plead with his wife who wanted to die with her children and could not bear at all to live any more. For she said, "why should I live?" She went on

²Job 1:21

crying and wailing as is natural for a mother who loves her children. "My young shoots have been taken away from me. To whom shall I look from now on, with the help of what shall I extinguish the flame of my grief? I who had beautiful children and suddenly have none."

While Athanasia was saying these and similar words with many tears, the holy Andronikos tried to support her with imploring words, saying, "Don't be so, wife. Do not lament for our children with inappropriate words like this, wife, like one of the foolish ones who have no hope for the Resurrection. For though they are dead to us, they live in God by Whom they were received, Who wisely managed this for their and our own good. For he received our children, unblemished, before they had even tasted the evils of life, while he has pledged us in marriage to attention to the salvation of the soul, since there is nobody now to distract and attract our attention."

6 Encouraging his wife appropriately with these words, he took care of the burial of the bodies. Almost the whole city gathered and the Patriarch himself together with all the clergy, for he knew them, I assume, on account of their great virtue and reverence. When they accomplished everything according to the custom, they gave the dead bodies of the children for burial in the church of the aforementioned Saint Iulianus, to be buried together with their ancestors.

The Patriarch having the blessed Andronikos with him, returned to the episcopate. Athanasia remained by the tomb of her children, suffering terribly, flowing with hot tears, not accepting any consolation until sleep crept over her and made her rest, though inadvertently; her sleep brought her a dream: The martyr (Julian) standing before her reprimanding her for her unyielding lament and unchecked tears, addressing her and speaking, "For whose sake, woman, do you wish to grieve, untimely and inconsolably? Do you not know that being mortal you have given birth to

mortal children, whom the kind God recently deemed worthy to receive for <their> salvation? Do not weep now for the children, for you will not raise them. Rather, weep for the mistakes of your life, which you will be able to wipe out easily with your tears." Once she heard these things, she immediately woke up relieved from her despondency. She was exhorted by her soul and she calmly whispered to herself, "if my children truly live in heaven, for what reason am I wasting myself with lamentation? Then she gazed all around the church, longing to see he who had spoken the encouraging words to her in her sleep. She inquired from the sexton of the church who the monk was, namely the one who had come to the church the previous night and talked to her; for the martyr had appeared to her in the robes of a monk. The sexton became speechless at her extraordinary question, for he knew that she had seen a divine vision. "My lady," he said "no monk has entered here. As you can see, the doors of the church were safely locked." Overcome by astonishment and fear she returned to her own house and narrated her dream to her husband, what she had seen and what was spoken. After she had recounted this, she said to him, "My sweetest husband, when our beloved children were still alive, it was a desire to renounce worldly life and desert to the peaceful one. But my love for my children persuaded me to remain in life and worldly things. But now, seeing that nothing is impeding us, if you listen to me, tonsure me and send me to a convent of pious women, so that through asceticism/monastic practice and first of all because of God's kindness, I will wash off the shame of my many sins." When the blessed Andronikos heard these things, he said to her, "Go, wife. Give deep/serious thought on this for a week, and test yourself. And if you remain committed to this, it will be the Will of God." After a week had passed, she was clear to her husband, thinking and saying the same things as before. So he immediately called for his father-in-law, entrusted him with all their wealth and said to him, "My lord, eager desire

has gripped us to see and revere the Holy Places together. If it happens that we die (repay the debt of nature) during the course of these travels, with God as the judge and witness, dispose of our property according to His Will. Build a hospital and a lodging-house for monks in our home." Saying these things he freed magnanimously all the servants from the yoke of their slavery and sent them away charitably, providing them with legacies.

7 When night fell, he took a small portion of his money, only to divide to those in need, and with two beasts of burden, he left the city with only his wife, who turning back and seeing all the doors of her own house standing open, looked up to Heaven and said with tears, "God Who said in the past to Abraham, our forefather, *Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred,*³ for Whose sake we too now leave our native land, *Lead us forth by the right way*⁴ and protect us by the fear of You. Behold, for the sake of Your holy name we kept our house open to anyone who was in grief. So, kind Master, do not shut the gate of Your kingdom to Your servants, but make us partakers of it, You, the only sinless One Who having forgotten all our sins."

8 With these words and many more, the most revered Athanasia prayed to God with tears flowing and left the city with her husband. When they reached the Holy Places they offered their prayers to the Lord and visited many Fathers who love God and received fruits from them which were beneficial for the soul. They decided to visit Alexandria. When they arrived there, they stayed in the shrine of the holy martyr Menas and enjoyed his grace abundantly.

A few days later, the holy Andronikos met a certain monk who was travelling to Sketis and chose to walk along with him. As he was about to leave, Athanasia, distressed and in tears, begged her husband to take her

³Gen 12:1

⁴Ps 106/7

with him. But he, knowing well that Sketis was inaccessible to women, resisted this entirely. He assured her however, that as soon as he arrived at Sketis and venerated the fathers there, he would return to Alexandria and arrange her affairs well. "But for now," he said "stay at the church of the holy martyr. Consider him, after God, as the one who protects and takes good care of you." Then having spoken and kissed her, two days later he reached Sketis. As he heard everything concerning the great and celebrated Daniel, (for virtue does not know at all how to conceal the worker of good, because light does not know how to hide the ones who walk under it) he decided to visit him and reveal everything about his aim and also tell him about his wife.

When he did so, he was instructed by the old man to bring his wife to him. When she arrived, the old man instructed her on many things, advised her to remain faithful to her aim and sent her forth to the Thebaid with his letters (of recommendation) to the monastery which is named "of the Tabennesiotoi". Present with her was the remarkable Andronikos, who having tonsured her, enrolled her there amongst the nuns and immediately returned to the old man. He received the holy and angelic habit from his saintly hands and remained with him for twelve years, following his footsteps, adopting any quality of his teacher, and if anything good came from his teacher, he would imitate it as far as possible and the blessed one stored it up inside himself as if it were some treasure.

9 After the completion of the twelfth year, having asked for and received the revered man's blessing, he went straightaway to the Holy Places, walking this way in a very short time. About noontime, he decided to have a short stop, as he was suffering from the burning heat, and he sat under a tree to rest for a while. And behold, by God's dispensation, he saw his wife coming in the garments of a man, as she herself was also travelling to the Holy Land. When they spoke to each other, the holy Athanasia

recognised the blessed Andronikos. But he did not know her at all. For how could he know her, as her face had been altered with suffering, and moreover she looked like an Ethiopian. When she questioned him and learnt that he was going to Jerusalem, she asked to accompany him. He consented and they both set out on the journey, concentrating on the irreproachable silence as far as they could. Having travelled a fairly long distance, the most revered of women, Athanasia asked the marvellous Andronikos, "Really brother, are you not a disciple of Father Daniel?" He replied "Yes". Then she asked again "Are you not called Andronikos?" Having agreed to this too, Athanasia again said "May the prayers of the revered man accompany us" to which the holy Andronikos responded "Amen." When they reached Jerusalem they revered the Holy Places and visited all the Fathers there, gathering from every place all that was <useful> for the benefit and strengthening of their ascetic life. Then they went back to Alexandria and entered a cell/retreat near the <monastery> of Oktokaidekaton.

10 When the blessed Andronikos felt the urge to go to the revered man to receive his blessing, Father Athanasios said to him, "if it is pleasing to you, then return after you have embraced the revered man. For as we have travelled in silence, brother, the road to Jerusalem and back, in the same way let us with equal silence and peace, follow the road of life until we arrive in the Kingdom of Heaven, led by His hand." The remarkable Andronikos agreed to do so and the brother very cheerfully dispatched him to Sketis, while he himself waited for him there.

When Andronikos reached the retreat he saw the great Daniel and embraced him. He then informed him of the aforementioned events and he ended by saying that he had agreed with the brother who had accompanied him, to spend the remainder of his life in Alexandria at the monastery of Oktokaidekaton. The revered man said, "Go my child, and remain with the

brother, cherishing silence. For know that this one by the highest virtue is ranked with the greatest of the servants of God." The divine Daniel said these words knowing the story of the blessed Athanasia. (For how could he not be, since God hid nothing from him concerning her), but waited, as it seems, the revelation of the truth from the outcome of these things. So the remarkable Andronikos agreed with the revered man and with much speed, reached the city of Alexander and from then on he lived with brother Athanasios, living under the same roof, eating together and being known as completely inseparable from him.

So, they remained with each other for another twelve years, making little or no account of the body, while providing the soul sensibly in all ways with the service of the spiritual life with all their strength. However, the remarkable Andronikos never realised that the truly wise Athanasia was his wife.

11 So, many times the great Daniel used to visit them, discussing with them what was beneficial for them and then he would leave. On one occasion the old man went there, conversed with them about things pleasing to God and <leading to> salvation and bid them farewell. Before he left the city, he turned and saw Father Andronikos running towards him 'as fast as he could', as they say, and announcing with tears that the brother, Father Athanasios, was departing to God. "Therefore, it is necessary that you supply him for the journey with your saintly prayers even now in the end." When he went back, the revered man found that Athanasios was in physical pain. When Father Athanasios saw him, he began to weep and to lament bitterly. The saintly Daniel said to him, "Do not cry nor beat your chest, child. The present time is ordained for you rather as a cause for happiness and rejoicing. For it leads you towards the reward of your many toils, and promises you God's crown of righteousness." The great Athanasios said to him, "My weeping is not for this, father, that my life is

coming to an end, but for my brother Andronikos." Then, so that Andronikos could not hear, she commanded the revered man saying "After you bury me, you will find a document in pillow in which my story has been written. Read this first yourself, then give it to my brother Andronikos." What next? The holy old man then prayed and gave great Athanasios <holy> communion of the undefiled and immortal mysteries.

Since the sign of her release to God already rose from Heaven, she called for the holy Andronikos, and she foretells in a prophetic way that she would have him not far from following her <in death> and stops his distressed lamentation and advises him rather to rejoice on her passing away to God, saying that it was unnecessary to be grieving for someone from whom he would be separated for only a short time and whom he would shortly reach. Once she said these things, having assumed the appropriate position, she raised her feet and departed on the blessed journey to God.

12 When they came to prepare him for burial, behold, he was found to be a woman by nature. Everyone was astounded by this. For to no one had anything ever been revealed concerning the blessed Athanasia until her death. Not even the remarkable Andronikos <had realised>, <he> who had lived with her for twelve years.

So, the revered man sent <a message> calling for all the Fathers in Sketis. They came as quickly as possible, dressed in brilliant white robes in their accustomed manner. All the population of the city gathered together, as well as the monks who practised monastic life in the city, with those of Oktokaidekaton, among whom the blessed one accomplished, at the final stage, her ascetic struggles. Many monks also of those who lived in the inner desert were also present. For everyone was astounded by the strangeness of the news; that a woman displayed asceticism as a man from the beginning to the end, and most extraordinary, living amongst men and having her husband living with her. They carried out the honoured corpse

of the great Athanasia with branches and palm leaves and having performed all the customary rites, they buried her in the cemetery of the Fathers.

13 And so, the revered man (Daniel) remained there to perform the rites of the ninth day for the blessed one, as was customary. Then he intended to depart to Sketis and decided to take the holy Andronikos with him. But he (Andronikos) could not bear it, saying, "Wherever my lady is, O Father, it is necessary for me to die too."

The great one bade farewell to all the brothers there and set off. He had hardly passed by the church of the great martyr Menas, when a certain brother caught up with him saying that Father Andronikos was afflicted by some illness. Immediately therefore the revered man sent someone to call back those in Sketis, saying that Father Andronikos was about to meet brother Athanasios. When they heard this they came together, their feet lightened by the wings of their love for him. Finding him still alive and having received his blessing, they sent him to God full of joy, accompanying him with many funerary words for the journey and prayed to have him as a most fervent mediator with the Lord. After he had passed away, those who were present made mention of his burial and a great quarrel broke out between those Fathers of Oktokaidekaton and those of Sketis, for those deemed worthy to take his honoured remains into the retreat. For the one side demanded to take his honoured remains into Sketis. This displeased the others who said that he should be buried with brother Athanasios, which seemed right also to the great Father Daniel. Those who were at Sketis with him prevailed:....

5. 3 NOTES ON THE LIFE OF SAINTS ANDRONIKOS AND ATHANASIA

CHAPTER 1

3-4 τὴν μεγαλόπολιν Ἀντιόχειαν lit. “large city”.

General epithet of great cities cf. Herakleia in the *Life* of St. Elisabeth the Wonderworker [*Life* of St. Elisabeth the Wonderworker, tr., V. Karras, in *Holy Women of Byzantium*, ed., A. M. Talbot (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1996), 117-136, esp. 122]. Antioch lay on the Orontes in northern Syria. Its prehistory can be traced back to the Selucids who founded the city in 300BC [R. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983)]. By the fourth century the span of the city's administrative and economic powers eventually extended to an area of 2500 square miles (*idem* 3). Libanius' effusive oration, “In Praise of Antioch”, though panegyrical in the extreme, conveys some of its magnificence. He wrote, “it is not possible to describe the extent to which excellence is native to us...” [G. Downey, “Libanius' Oration In Praise Of Antioch (Oration XI)”, *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* (reprint) 103 (5) (1959), 652-686]. From his descriptions we have an idea of the opulence of the city, “the stoas have the appearance of rivers which flow for the greatest distance through the city, while the side streets seem like canals drawn from them.... (*idem* ch. 201). There are as many fountains as there are houses, or rather there are many fountains in each house...(*idem* ch. 246). The regions outside the city are exactly suited to the tastes of one who admires what is inside, in luxury and baths and in the products of craftsmanship and in social intercourse” (*idem* ch. 231). By the fourth century, Antioch had become the residence of the *comes orientis* as well as of the Roman governor of Syria, the chief military officer of the eastern provinces and the *magister militum per orientum* [Wilken (1983), 2]. For further background see the entry for “Antioch” in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* I, col. 2359-2427.

6 τὸ πασῶν πρωτεύειν...τὴν Κωνσταντίνου φημί cf. Ammianus Marcellinus *Hist* 22. 9. 14, “orientis apicem pulchrum” (the fair crown of the Orient).

12-13 τὸ γενέτειραν εἶναι καὶ ἄριστόν τροφόν Lampe: ὁ γενετήρ is God the father.

13 ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν θεοφιλῶν women are accepted as equally capable of piety as men, a statement strengthened by ὁμοῦ. cf. *Life of Mary the Younger*, “the arena of virtue however, is open to women no less than to men and God the prize-giver generously grants the rewards and victory crowns to both sexes equally” [ch. 1, in Talbot (1996), 254].

CHAPTER 2

22 ἀργυροπράτης silversmith, though LSJ has money-dealer. Liebeschuetz observed that “the forms of banking and money-lending were not highly developed” and cited *Or.* i. 275, lii. 15 to show that “money-lending was a normal activity of landowners” [W. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972), esp. 87]. The term was interchangeable with bankers or gold- and silversmiths, variously described as τραπεζίτης, ἀργυροπράτης, χρυσοχόος, ἀργυροχόος and ἀργυρόκοπος [C. Roueché, “Aurarii in the Auditoria”, *ZPE* 105 (1995), 37-50, esp. 40-41]. She dates this flexibility in terminology to post 300 [citing J. Andreau, “La lettre *7, documents sur les métiers bancaires”, in *Les lettres de Saint-Augustin découvertes par Johannes Dirjak* (Etudes Augustiniennes, Paris, 1983)]. Previously, *argentarius* had simply meant “banker”. Hendy defines money-changers as *trapezitai* / *collectarii* and silversmiths as *argyropratai* / *argentarii* [M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300-1450* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), 242]. He concludes that though bankers were considered professionals, they were not considered as highly as lawyers or doctors, noting further that “*argyropratai* not *trapezitai* are represented by lead seals of the sixth-eighth centuries” (244). Interestingly Andronikos is cited as an exception to the rule of the poorer silversmith (245).

29 συνῆπτο δὲ...γάμου The legality of Andronikos and Athanasia's marriage is stressed using νομῶ. In general, the consent of the parents of the bride and bridegroom (in this case Athanasia's) was essential for the union. Marriage customs were not significantly different from pagan rituals. What mattered was the legal ceremony which in turn ensured licit sexuality and legitimate inheritance. Christian writers of the period lamented the pagan influence. Tertullian discusses the idolatry associated with the marriage ceremony in *De Idolatria* 16, whilst Chrysostom is shocked that neither priests nor clerics are present at some ceremonies to bless the couple: 'Why do you make mockery of the dignified rites of marriage?...Priests (should) be summoned to strengthen the harmony of the union with prayers and blessings' (*Hom. 48 in Gen* 23. 5-6). For a fuller discussion, see Chapter Two, 61-62.

29 τρισι γὰρ μοίραις...διαιροῦντες The *Life* of St. Thomaïs among others, stresses that the household was regulated by the wife who also managed the finances. The *Lives* of St. Theophano and St. Thomaïs illustrate the regard in which philanthropy was held and considered a key factor for claiming sanctity. Athanasia's piety, like Mary the Younger, is expressed through social deeds of charity.

37-39 εἰς τὸν οἶκον...τὸν οἶκον Athanasia ensures that her own household is secure and prosperous despite her family's liberal charity. cf. the *Life* of Mary the Younger where her husband Nikephorus remonstrates, "What I complain about is excessive liberality and high-mindedness, for I fear that by ministering to the needs of others so generously we might ourselves come to abject poverty" [ch 8, in Talbot (1996), 263]. These are objections not only voiced by Mary's husband but by members of his extended family and are complaints used against Mary. Thus our author stresses Athanasia's concern to maintain her own household's prosperity cf. Chrysostom's "How to choose a wife", 'A wife has only one duty, to preserve what we have gathered, to protect our income, to take care of our household...' (p. 96ff). This is piety in the real world and a guide to how the secular and the religious way of life may be jointly pursued.

40-41 εἰς θεραπείαν...ξένων καὶ μοναχῶν Many people travelled to Antioch, regarding it as a holy place. Malamut notes Antioch's popularity for pilgrims [E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (CNRS éditions, Paris, 1995), esp. 312]. The city had numerous attractions including a multitude of churches. Most importantly it was the site of worship for Symeon the Elder and the younger Symeon Stylites whose relics were venerated on Mount Admirable. In this way Antioch was considered the equal to Jerusalem itself. All pilgrims passed through Antioch to visit at least one of the two sanctuaries. Athanasia's hospitality is another sign of piety, thus Chrysostom on "How to Choose a Wife", 'I am looking for the kind of girl who is so hospitable that she will offer all the service in her power...I wish to forestall the war and strife which might occur if the husband gives away their substance freely...and welcomes strangers while the wife stingily objects and tries to prevent it...Everything good which has happened to us (Abraham and Sarah) came because of hospitality', (p. 103 when referring to Rebecca).

CHAPTER 3

46-50 συνθήκας...τοῦ πνεύματος Sex is portrayed as a hindrance to a truly fulfilling spiritual life but not necessarily as a pollutant. cf. Chrysostom's Homily 19 (on 1 Cor 7), "it is certainly possible to be married and to pray at the same time but prayer can be intensified by abstinence...He (Paul) does not mean that sexual relations would make the prayer unclean. He simply means that they occupy one's attention" (p. 28). Andronikos and Athanasia's decision to be celibate is followed by a detailed description of their good works, describing what happened as a consequence. Thus the author illustrates the benefits of abstinence for others and for "our" inner selves. Again, clear guidelines are being laid down for being godly in everyday life.

56 ὁμογενῶν γυναικῶν Athanasia maintains her social position. She mobilises all the women with whom she is in contact who are ὁμογενῶν. This is in contrast to Mary the Younger, Melania the Younger and Makrina who associate with women of a lower class to themselves and who even treat slaves on an

equal level. Thus Melania tells the women who flock to her, “I myself will properly attend to everything for you, as a servant would” [Gerontius, *The Life of Melania the Younger*, tr., E. Clark (The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1984), ch. 41, pp. 54-55].

CHAPTER 4

63-64 τῆς ὀρθρινῆς δοξολογίας Lampe: ὀρθρινός: of the morning. ODB I: 660: “doxology”. The doxology was a liturgical formula of praise. Athanasia was attending matins [See also R. F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: the Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN., 1986), esp. 9-11; 14-16].

71-73 μήτιγε μητρί...σπλάγχνοις τοῖς μητρικοῖς The author clearly believes that Athanasia's grief is due to her innate maternal instincts which she must have, since she is a woman. This instinct is more important, more essential to her than her devotion to God. By contrast we have Mary the Younger's reaction and *her* author's comments when her first child dies unexpectedly at the age of five, “she almost conquered nature and, weeping just enough to show that she was a mother, gave thanks to the guardian of our souls...” [ch. 4 in Talbot (1996), 258-259]. Mary is commended for not plunging into the depths of despair and is compared with Job (see discussion for chapter five).

CHAPTER 5

83-84 ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀγίου μάρτυρος Ἰουλιανοῦ See note on Julian in chapter six.

85 ἔκτης ὥρας about noon.

91 τὸν εὐκτήριον οἶκον...ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ Lampe: esp. with respect to οἶκος as a house of prayer or chapel. Of a chapel in a house: Trullo *can.* 31, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις, ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι, λειτουργοῦντας κληρικούς, ὑπὸ γνώμην τοῦτο πράττειν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐπισκόπου ὀρίζομεν, ὥστε εἴ τις κληρικὸς μὴ τοῦτο οὕτω παραφυλάξῃ, καθαιρείσθω. For conditions regulating foundation: Just *nov.* 120. 6. Ἀν εὐκτήριον οἶκον was the private chapel

of an individual, as mentioned in the text, or of a monastery. A καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία was a church open to the public [See also G. Dagron, "Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine", *DOP* 31 (1977), 3-25, esp. 9, n. 31].

92 Ἰώβ Job also lost his children and the comparison is continued with Andronikos displaying "the patience of Job" throughout the narrative. cf. *Mary the Younger* after Mary's child dies unexpectedly. She is praised for only displaying sufficient emotion to show that she is a mother (compare earlier with Athanasia). Moreover she too is likened to Job, uttering the same quotation from the Book of Job as Andronikos, "and bringing to mind Job's troubles, (she) cried out in a calm voice with the greatness of soul, 'The Lord gave and the Lord taketh away; as it seemed good to the Lord, so has it come to pass; blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever'". The author adds, "In this manner she bore what happened with patience and thanksgiving. And if she could accept with such courage the death of her only son, what other grief would she not bear with ease and equanimity?" [ch. 4 in Talbot (1996), 258-259].

101 πρὸς τίνα τοῦ λοιποῦ βλέψω The depth of Athanasia's despair is such that not even Andronikos and God are enough.

108-114 εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν τεθνήκασιν...ἐπιστρέφοντος cf. Chrysostom's "Sermon on Marriage". He points out that the desire for children is natural but 'now that Resurrection is at our gates...we do not speak of death, but advance toward another life better than the present (and so) the desire for posterity is superfluous...if you desire children, you can get much better children now, a nobler childbirth and better help in your old age, if you give birth by spiritual labour' (p. 85-6).

110 οἰκονομήσαντος Lampe: referring to God's providence; "bring about, affect, bestow". Bauer: "manage, regulate, administer". Of God: Philo *de cal.* 53: Θεὸς οἰκονομεῖ σωτηρίως ἀεὶ τὰ σύμπαντα.

CHAPTER 6

123 τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον Lampe: Bishop's residence: Pall. *HL*. 63. As bishop's household: Moschos *Spiritual Meadow* ch. 108, cf. “Mark the Fool” [L. Clugnet, “Marc le fou”, *ROC* 6 (1901), 56-87, esp. 61, line 17].

127 τὸν μάρτυρα The martyr of the Church appears. It is unclear which saint Julian is being referred to. Julian reprimands Athanasia and it is interesting to note that his speech effectively echoes Andronikos' earlier vain attempts to console his wife.

141 τοῦ νεωκόρου Lampe: in the sense of menial official. Member of a minor order in church, concerned with menial work: Greg. Naz. *Or.* 24. 12 has νεωκόρος. In other versions of the text (See Appendix One), ὁ θυρωρὸς is used instead. cf. the female version (ἡ θυρωρὸς) in “The nun whom everyone thought was drunk” [Clugnet, “La religieuse que l'on croyait être une ivrognesse”, (1901), 68, line 15]. ὁ θυρωρὸς also appears in *Mary the Younger* [Talbot (1996), 274, n. 112], where Laiou observes that the term is “much more common in Ancient than in Byzantine Greek” [A. Laiou in Talbot (1996), “*Life of Mary the Younger*”, 245], hence Bauer: a temple keeper (Ael. Arist. 47. 11).

143 ὁ μάρτυς ἐν σχήματι...ἐφάνη cf. the story John Moschus relates: Eulogius has a vision of Julian at the community of Tougara “nine miles outside Alexandria”. He mistakes the martyr for “Archdeacon Julian. The chamberlain said neither had he seen anybody nor had anybody come in...the porter asserted with an oath that the archdeacon had neither come in nor gone out...the great Eulogius realised that it was Julian the martyr he had seen, urging him to <re>build his church which had been dilapidated for some time and antiquated, threatening to fall down”, (John Moschus, *Spiritual Meadow* ch. 146). The situation is very similar to the circumstances of Julian's appearance in this story. Moreover it also seems that Julian generally appears in disguise. What is interesting is that in this instance, the saint does not give Athanasia specific instructions on what to do next with her life nor does he reveal the future to her. He seems to be her impetus to lead a monastic life.

152 ἀποτάξασθαι Lk 14. 33; 2 Cl 6. 4ff. Also used in the context of marriage: Bas. *ep.* 199 *can* 18, ἀποταξαμένη τῷ γάμῳ (...“that she is a virgin and has renounced marriage and has preferred the life of holiness”).

160 μίαν ἑβδομάδα...κατὰ σεαυτήν During this week Athanasia's resolve is not strengthened by further special divine intervention. Her final decision is entirely her own.

165 τὸν αὐτοῦ πενθερόν cf. γαμβρόν in other versions. This version of the narrative, C, probably uses the word for 'father-in-law' as it ties in with his earlier personal mention. See Appendix One.

167 τοὺς Ἀγίους Τόπους Andronikos gives no specific mention of entering a retreat.

168-169 τὸ χρέος ἀποτίσαι τῆς φύσεως cf. *Mary the Younger* [ch. 24 in Talbot (1996), 278].

170-171 νοσοκομεῖον...μοναχῶν Lampe: hospital/ infirmary (Pall. *HL* 68).

171 ξενοδοχεῖον Bauer: χενοδοχέω “to show hospitality” (1 Ti 5. 10); Lampe: guest-house or hospice; for travellers, sick and poor (Bas *reg. br* 286; Pall. *HL* 7).

173 λεγᾶτα legacies. See also *The Spiritually Edifying Tales of Bishop Paul of Monembasia*, tr., J. Wortley (Cistercian Publications, Michighan, 1996), tale 1, “The Three Women who were discovered in the time of the Emperor Constantine”, ch 4, p. 65, ‘As soon as they had left I set all my household [slaves/servants] free, made them gifts and legacies and dismissed them’.”

CHAPTER 7

187 ἀναμάρτητος Bauer: without sin: J 8: 7; Dt 29: 19.

CHAPTER 8

192-194 πολλοὺς θεοφιλεῖς περιελθόντες πατέρας...καρπωσάμενοι τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπιδημῆσαι διέγνωσαν cf. Pall. *HL* 61. Malamut observes that Jerusalem is on the route from Syria to Egypt [Malamut (1995), 315].

194-195 ἐν τε τῷ μαρτυρίῳ...Μηνᾶ The story of Andronikos and Athanasia is set firmly in the context of Egyptian monasticism and particularly

the sphere of the Desert Fathers. The couple journey first to Jerusalem and thence to Egypt. Their first stop is at the shrine of St. Menas which, as John Moschus wrote, "was a popular place for pilgrims to visit; an overnight journey with donkeys or mules would bring one here from Alexandria", (John Moschus, *Spiritual Meadow* ch. 100). Menas of Alexandria was commemorated in the *Synaxarion* on November 11th. The accounts of his early life are unreliable and varied. For the problems, see J. Drescher, "Apa Mēna", *AB* 3 (1884), 258-270, who has edited the Coptic martyrdom and encomium, both of which are based on the Greek martyrdom. He was a Roman soldier who was martyred under Diocletian and buried in Alexandria. The legend relates that after his death, his body was placed on a camel and led into the desert. When the animal reached a certain spot it refused to travel further and so he was laid to rest at that place. The burial location was then completely forgotten until a shepherd observed that his sick sheep were cured by rolling in the earth and water at that spot. He applied the same remedy to humans with the result that his fame spread. The daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople (unspecified) came to the shepherd to be healed of leprosy. The saint appeared to her in a vision telling her where to find his body and in gratitude for her restoration to health, the Emperor built a church over the remains. Menas was the most popular saint in Egypt until the seventh century. Such was the reputation of his healing cult that his fame extended beyond Egypt, as far West as Arles, Cologne and even Rome [M. Murray, "St Menas of Alexandria", *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (1907), 25-122, esp. 25]. See also S. J. Davis, *The Cult of St. Thekla: a Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), 120-126. The saint's popularity was undoubtably due to the cures which he effected not only at his burial site but from afar (*idem* 27). During the joint reign of Arcadius and Honorius, the original church was given a face-lift. The improved building was the stop-over described in so many pilgrim accounts and saints' lives of the fifth and sixth centuries (*idem* 55). The Church was the focal point for pilgrims but did not seem to be part of the daily life of the people of Alexandria. The following is a description of the Church by an anonymus Arab

historian cited by Butler, “a huge building embellished with statues and paintings of the greatest beauty. There tapers burn day and night without ceasing. At one end of the building is a vast tomb with two camels in marble and upon them the statue of a man carved in marble, who is standing with one foot upon each camel...The figure is said to represent St. Menas. On the right as you enter the church is a great marble column, in which a shrine is carved containing figures of Jesus, John and Zachariah...There is also to be seen the figure of the Virgin Mary covered by two curtains and figures of all the prophets. Outside the church are figures representing all kinds of animals and men of all occupations...among the rest is a slave-merchant...” [A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Domination* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1902), 177, n. 2]. Unfortunately Butler gives no further information, such as a date, for this Arab historian who is also quoted by Quatremère in *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte* (Paris, 1811), 2 vols. The church of St. Menas, renowned for its wealth and beauty, suffered greatly in its later years. In the eighth century there were increasing tensions between the Melkite and Jacobite parties; opposing factions who demanded to be recognized as the National Church. The Church of St. Menas was strongly fought over, as it was considered a prized jewel in the ecclesiastical crown [Murray (1907), 56-58]. The Jacobites won but in the ninth century a man called Eleazar came with orders from the “Emperor” to seize the most beautiful marble columns he could find. The Melkites pointed him towards Menas in revenge for their defeat and the church was plundered [E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (Paris, 1713), esp. 248]. The Patriarch repaired and restored the church but the power of the Arab forces finally prevailed and the Church of St. Menas was completely destroyed during the Patriarchate of Shenoude I (859-869) [*idem* 311].

197 τὴν Σκητὶν Andronikos travels from the Church of St. Menas to Sketis. The text says that the journey took two days. Chitty notes that Andronikos journeys by the “western route by the city of Menas whence they would leave with donkeys in the late afternoon and travel through the night, to reach their destination by 8 o'clock in the morning, before the heat of the day” [D. Chitty,

The Desert, A City: an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1995), esp. 147]. This route is preferred to travelling through Nitria or Terenuthis. Sketis, the setting for many a scene in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, was founded by Macarius the Egyptian in AD 330 (*idem* 33). Together with the Fayum region, Sketis was often perceived to be situated outside Egypt [Clugnet (1901), 75]. Andronikos' second journey across Egypt is described as ὁδεύων κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον (374, line 2) whilst Daniel's biography claims that he had to travel through the desert of Egypt to reach Sketis: ἀνέρχομαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον (72, line 16). Thus Sketis was thought to be found outside Egypt. "Egypt" itself is confined to the fringes of the Nile. Comprised of various monasteries which created one vast monastic community, Sketis had a slightly more relaxed rule than Pachomius' Tabennesi [P. van Cauwenberg, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte* (Paris, 1914), 81-88]. Monks could visit one another for spiritual guidance. Daniel is repeatedly reported as leaving his cell to inspect his spiritual children (see note for chapter eleven). Moreover there was interaction with the outside world [Chitty (1995), 34]. Sketis' popularity reached its peak in the late fourth century but the lavra was finally destroyed around 407-8 in a "barbarian" invasion led by Mazices [*idem* 60-1]. See also Augustine *ep.* 137.

208 τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀοίδιμον Δανιήλ For debate concerning Daniel's identity, see Chapter One, 43-46. The author clearly recognises Daniel as the sixth-century Daniel of Sketis. According to the story preserved in the Daniel Cycle, the young Sketiote was held prisoner by barbarians who invaded the retreat (though it is doubtful if they would have found anything of value at Sketis) [Clugnet, "Comment l'abbé Daniel expia un meurtre qu'il avait commis", *ROC* 6 (1901), 71, line 2]. Daniel was finally rescued by a ship's captain but captured again by οἱ βάρβαροι. Fortunately he escaped after six months [*idem* 71, lines 4-7]. Rather unluckily he was captured for a third time by the persistent marauders but this time escaped for good by killing his master (*idem* 71, lines 7-10). His confession was heard by Timothy, the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Pope as well as the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem.

However they all refused to impose a penance upon him (*idem* 71, lines 11-22). In despair, Daniel admitted his guilt to the governor of Alexandria who also dismissed him. Eventually Daniel took matters into his own hands and made his peace by tending to a crippled man in his cell. The story is concluded in the Coptic and Ethiopic versions with Daniel leaving Sketis and founding a monastery at Tambok after the Council of Chalcedon [L. Goldschmidt and E. Pereira, *Vida do Abba Daniel do Mosteiro de Scete. Versão Ethiopica* (Lisbon, Empresa Nacional, 1897), esp. 55-8; van Cauwenberg (1914), 23]. With Justinian's death he returned to Sketis but a barbarian invasion led him back to Tambok, where he died.

208-210 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως οἶδε κρύπτειν....ἐκείνῳ ὁδεύοντας “for virtue does not know at all how to conceal the worker of good, because light does not know how to hide the ones who walk under it”, cf. *Mary the Younger*, “Ointment poured forth cannot go unnoticed even if it is very well hidden, for it is proclaimed by its fragrance, nor is it possible for active virtue <to escape notice> for it is heralded by its works. Similarly Mary, most revered of women, could not escape notice...” [ch. 3 in Talbot (1996), 256].

213-214 πλεῖστα κατηχήσας It was not unknown for Daniel to be concerned with women. In the story of “Anastasia *patrikia*” he hides Anastasia from the Emperor Justinian for twenty eight years in Sketis: ἤδη οὖν εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη σήμερον ἔχει ἐν τῇ Σκήτῃ [Clugnet, “Vie d'Anastasie la Patrice”, (1901), 53, line 12].

216 τὸ μοναστήριον...Ταβεννησιωτῶν The great complex of monasteries which made up Tabennesi was founded by Pachomius. See also P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford, 1978), 22-24. Pachomius came upon the deserted village of Tabennesis and heard a voice telling him, “Stay here and make a monastery, for many will come to thee to become a monk”. Tabennesi grew into a huge institution largely due to Pachomius who wanted to extend the monastery, over the objections of John, an elder brother who wished to focus on a few brothers in keeping with ascetic practice. VPG 54, “As the number of the brothers increased, Pachomius saw that

the monastery was overcrowded. He transferred some of them to another deserted village called Phbow (known today as Faou)...". The community grew when two other existing monasteries were incorporated. VPG 54, "after a while the number of brothers also increased in the monastery called Phbow, then came an old ascetic named Ebonh, father of another monastery of ancient brothers. He asked Pachomius to receive his monastery into the brothers' community...fourthly he (Pachomius) brought the brothers to the monastery called Thmousons...At the requests of the great monks of that monastery he established them according to the rules of the *koinonia*." Malamut points out that the "monastery (had a) very strict, almost military-like rule, based on labour notably for the monks' subsistence and of the community" [Malamut (1995), 21]. An elderly monk called Peter was the link with the men's community. VPG 32, "so a monastery of women was built in the village, a short distance from the brothers. And as they grew in number little by little, she (Pachomius' sister) became their mother. He appointed a certain Peter, a man very religious and advanced in age, to visit them...Pachomius wrote down for them the rules of the brothers and sent them by the old man Peter, that they might govern themselves by keeping them". VPG 134 refers to a second convent built by the later successor of Tabennesi, Theodore, "in the village called Bechne, about a mile from the monastery of Phbow". cf. HL 33. There is also an account of what happens when a nun dies: bearing palm leaves and olive branches and singing the psalmody, the dead woman's body is brought down to the river by the nuns and handed over to the brothers, whence it is conveyed to the other side by boat. See also note for line 252. The *Vita Prima* refers to the entire settlement as a *κοινόβιον* whilst Cassian refers to more than five thousand monks under the rule of a single abbot ("quorum Thebaide est coenobium, quantum numero populosius cunctis...siquidem in eo plus quam quinque milia fratrum ab uno reguntur abate", Cassian, *Inst*, IV. 1). Chitty gives a detailed description of the actual layout of the monastic complex [Chitty (1995), 22].

218 ἐντάξας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκείρας cf. Pall. HL 34, "she fastened some rags on her head...all the rest (of the nuns) had the tonsure and wore cowls".

CHAPTER 9

230 κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ the phrase is used in all three versions cf. "Mark the Fool" [Clugnet, "Marc le fou" (1901), 60, line 22].

231 ἐν ἀνδρικῷ τῷ σχήματι See J. Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif", *Viator* 5 (1974), 1-32, esp. 1-21; N. Delierneux, "Virilité physique et sainteté féminine", *Byzantion* 67 (1) (1997), 179-243 and E. Patlageán, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en doine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à byzance" *Studi Medievali* III, 17 (2) (1976), 597-624. See also Chapter Two, 96-99.

234-236 πῶς γὰρ...ἐπέγνω...τῆς ὀψεως...μεταβληθείσης Cf. *Life of Mary of Egypt*, "a naked figure whose body was black, as if tanned by the sun" [*Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, tr., M. Kouli in Talbot (1996), ch. 10, p. 76 and Theoktiste of Lesbos, "her face was black" [*Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos*, tr., A. C. Hero in eadem, ch. 17, p. 110].

246-249 ὥς δὲ κατέλαβον...πανταχόθεν συλλεξάμενοι a repeat of their first trip.

250-251 τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ The monastery was part of a group of communities which were named in terms of their respective distance from Alexandria. Thus ἑννατον was nine miles and ὀκτοκαιδέκατον, eighteen miles away from Alexandria. The name was a blanket epithet for a conglomeration of convents and hermitages [van Cauwenberg (1914), 65]. Severus of Ushmûnain, cited by Evetts in *Histoires des Patriarches* p. 485, claims that in the time of Patriarch Peter (567-578) there were six hundred monasteries, which seems an exaggeration. The earliest mention of Oktokaidekaton is in the Syriac *Life of Peter the Iberian* (Raabe 1895, 64ff), which relates that "the monophysite monks under Longinus were advised to choose a new Patriarch after the death of Emperor Marcian (457). The most important monasteries were represented including monks from Oktokaidekaton" [S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische ägypten in arabischer Zeit* Teil 4 (M-P), Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des voderen Orients (Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Wiesbaden, 1988), esp. 1791-1793]. Oktokaidekaton and

Eikosion (εἰκοσίον) seemed to have been spaced out on the same route as Ennaton.

CHAPTER 10

257- τὴν ὁδὸν...σιωπῆς cf. “the nun who simulated drunkenness”: εἰ θέλετε σωθῆναι, διώξατε τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην καὶ τὴν σιωπὴν. Clugnet, “La religieuse que l'on croyait être une ivrognesse”, *ROC* 6 (1901), 68, lines 4-5.

259 χειραγωγούμενοι Bauer: Ac 13. 11 Lampe: Eus. *HE* 10. 8. 19.

276 ὁμοδίαιτος Lampe: eating with.../sharing the life/ being, acting as a friend/ living together. For monks to be inseparable is not unknown and, according to the community to which they belong, not frowned upon. John Moschus relates the tale of two brothers who swore “an oath that they would never be separated from each other, either in life or death”, (John Moschus, *Spiritual Meadow* ch. 97). When one brother falls prey to fornication and lives a dissolute life, the other stays with him, praying for him.

CHAPTER 11

283-284 πολλάκις...τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν Daniel is time and again portrayed as visiting other cells. See G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Clarendon Press, Oxford), 26-87. In the story of “Mark the Fool”: ὁ γέρων τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἔθος γάρ ἐστιν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Σκήτεως ἀνέρχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πάπαν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐορτῇ.[Clugnet, “Marc le fou”, (1901), 60, lines 5-7]. See also in “the saint who begged” [*idem*, “Le saint mendiat”, (1901), 62, lines 3-4]; “Thomaïs the chaste” [*idem* “La chaste Thomaïs”, (1901), 63, lines 16-17 and “the nun who simulated drunkenness” [*idem* “La religieuse que l'on croyait être une ivrognesse”, (1901), 67, lines 15-16].

288 σὺν δάκρυσιν Andronikos did not cry when his children died.

Andronikos and Athanasia's marriage bond is portrayed as being more important than anything else.

297 στέφανόν σοι μνηστεύεται Although the metaphor is common, Daniel's use of it here is wholly appropriate now that the recognition scene is imminent where Athanasia will be revealed not only as a woman but as a wife.

301-303 εύρήσεις...δὸς Ἀνδρονίκῳ Andronikos should know the truth (eventually). All this is part of the dramatic narrative.

305 τῶν ἀχράντων καὶ ἀθανάτων Lampe: ἀχράντος undefiled (of sin). Of God: Clem. *Paed.* 1. 2. 3 Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι ἄχραντος.

CHAPTER 12

320-327 πέμψας...παρεγένοντο μοναχῶν all the different types of monks are listed cf. the funeral of "Mark the Fool" (πᾶσα ἡ Σκήτη...καὶ τὸ Ἑνατον καὶ τὰ κελλία, καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νητρίας, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ λαῦραι αἱ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν) [Clugnet, "Marc le fou" (1901), 61, lines 26-30].

331 μετὰ κλάδων...βαίῳν cf. with Daniel's story of "Mark the Fool" (φοροῦντες μετὰ κλάδων καὶ βαίῳν) [*idem* 61, lines 25-33]. There is a similar description in the *Life of Melania the Elder* describing what happens when a nun of Tabennesi dies, "after preparing her body for burial, carry it and set it down on the bank of the river..the brothers...bring her to the other side. They carry little palm leaves and olive branches and sing psalms. They bury her in their own cemetery" [*Life of Melania in Handmaids of the Lord: Contemporary Descriptions of Feminine Asceticism in the First Six Christian Centuries*, tr., J. Petersen (Cistercian Studies, Michighan, 1996), 300]

333 τῇ σορῶ...πατέρων Athanasia is acknowledged as one of their own. cf. "Thomaïs the Chaste" where there is debate as to whether Thomaïs should be buried in the Fathers' cemetery: καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυζον, ὥς ὅτι γυναικὸς λείψανον ἐπιτρέπει θάπτεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων, καὶ αὐτῆς φρονευθείσης (Clugnet, "La chaste Thomaïs", (1901), 65, lines 4-6].

CHAPTER 13

337 ἡ κυρία μου Andronikos acknowledges Athanasia as his wife indicating that in his mind, they are still married.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the treatment of the phenomenon that is celibate marriage in three saints' *Lives*. We have seen that the decision to have a sexless marriage was a fraught issue in early Christianity. Galaktion and Episteme's, Julian and Basilissa's, and Andronikos and Athanasia's marriages are three very different ways of addressing the problem, three distinct tales of celibate marriage. Galaktion and Episteme's marriage is a narrative device in a Christian inversion of the pagan novel. The marriage ceremony is not dwelt upon, technicalities are not broached and all emphasis is on plot. Galaktion's initial avoidance of Episteme is because she is a pagan, not because he has voiced any desire to remain celibate. After her baptism, the couple decide to separate, yet there is no real spiritual fervour on Episteme's part. She wants to know whether the bond between them will remain.¹ Galaktion reassures her that by devoting themselves to God, they will always remain together, in this world and the next. The language of their discourse is emotive and not spiritually reflective. Their virginity is needed to accentuate the Christianisation of this novel and to echo the chasteness of their original pagan protagonists; Kleitophon and Gleukippe.

Julian and Basilissa's marriage fits into a more complex scheme of the alternative Christian family, linking to a wider ideal of virginity and immortality.² The harsher side to Christianity is demonstrated; the abandoning of one's earthly family for the spiritual family where all are fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters in Christ. Furthermore, the strong parallels with the Book of Revelation within the text give credence to the saints' belief that virginity guaranteed immortality. Thus the concept behind this celibate marriage is very different to Galaktion and Episteme's. Strongly entrenched in biblical imagery

¹*Galaktion and Episteme*, "if we do this, if we separate from one another, can we always rejoice with each other?" (8. 189-190).

²For the wider Christian family, see C. Rapp, "'For next to God, you are my salvation': Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" in *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the contribution of Peter Brown*, eds, J. Howard-Johnston and P. Hayward (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999).

and miraculous occurrences, Julian and Basilissa's alliance can be described as a higher form of marriage, not easily imitated.

Andronikos and Athanasia share the most genuine ideal of a celibate marriage. The notion of a Christian celibate marriage is very difficult. Marriage is ordained for procreation, celibacy is regarded as the greater Good. Put the two together and the result is confusion. The author of *Andronikos and Athanasia* circumvents the issue and presents the neatest compromise. Initially, the couple share twelve years of a typical Christian married life - they produce their children as a Christian duty, they are charitable and generous to those in need of succour, and they regularly attend church. When their children die, Andronikos and later, Athanasia, accept the tragedy as the will of God. Thus these ordinary Christians' faith in God is absolute. The couple then have a parallel twelve years of separation and ascetic training, necessary for proof of their worthiness for their σκόπος. Their last twelve years are spent together, still technically married and still living out the daily routine of life. The relationship at this point can be construed as a celibate marriage. Yet there is always a twist and here it is because Andronikos is unaware that he is living with his wife. The reasons for his ignorance and Athanasia's silence have been given in Chapter Two and dramatic effect is another motive. However the author clearly wishes to emphasise that their bond remains intact. Andronikos completely breaks down after his wife's death. After his own death, their marital bond is sanctioned by Abba Daniel, who insists that the couple be buried together.

However none of these couples have a 'normal' married life once they decide to lead a celibate existence. Galaktion and Episteme voluntarily separate and Julian and Basilissa have their own lives (though they have a common purpose and they still rely on one another). Andronikos and Athanasia lead a celibate married life for ten years but the death of the children leads to their separation. They do not stay together. From this investigation, it seems clear that the Christian tradition has never successfully resolved the tension between the affirmation of marriage as a God-given gift to humanity, especially for the goal

of procreation, and the conviction of the benefits of a celibate life totally devoted to the love and service of God.

The problem was more pronounced at a time when the purpose of marriage was seen primarily as the way to continue the human species and women were considered the vehicle for that purpose. Christianity is not the only religion to experience this unease. In the Buddhist tradition, for example, the tension was resolved by the introduction of two levels of spiritual life: the higher, the celibate life of the monk that would lead to the goal of liberation (*nirvana*) and that of the Householder, who enters into a marriage but acquires merit by supporting the life of the monastery. This is possible in Buddhism because of the attendant belief in rebirth, which would eventually make it possible for everyone to become a monk in a subsequent birth. Thus one could devote all of one's life to the quest of liberation.

In the classical Hindu tradition, there is an attempt to hold the two modes of life together. The person who performs all his duties as Householder, is expected to gradually detach himself from all worldly attachments, including his wife and children, eventually becoming a *saryasim* (monk). In this persona, the devotee has turned his life totally to the pursuit of attaining *moksha* (liberation). In Hinduism, as in Buddhism, the belief in reincarnation and the possibility of multiple lives opens the possibility of attaining the 'higher' goal of celibate life at a certain stage of one's existence.

Devoid of the teaching of rebirth and reincarnation, Christianity was hard pressed to reconcile the benefits of married life and sexual union with the affirmed goals of celibate life. This thesis shows yet another alternative which united marriage and celibacy within the Christian tradition - celibate marriage. Chapters One and Two have shown that the Church Fathers and saints lived with the tension rather than seeking to resolve it. But the newly translated texts in the last three chapters indicate other options chosen with the complex milieu of Christian discourse on marriage and celibacy. They show that while celibate marriage has never had an institutional expression within the Christian tradition, it was practised by those who attained sainthood within the parameters of the

prevalent culture. Most importantly, *Galaktion and Episteme*, *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* illustrate a deeper understanding of marriage, comparable to ideas expressed in the Western Empire, ideas not articulated boldly in the East. The saints' *Lives* allow an expansion of the essence of marriage to include companionship and the introduction of the concept of the love between husband and wife to seal the bond of their marital relationship, thus easing the tensions evoked by celibate marriage. This notion is unusual and it is not merely the product of a literary genre. It also has wider implications for the family unit and the role of the man, who is no longer a father, and the woman, who is no longer a mother. The three saints' *Lives* create alterative religious occupations for their protagonists, so further study on celibate marriage could investigate what happens to the family in the new context of sex-less marriage.

Celibate marriage is a pliable construct because it is a contradiction in terms. It contravenes the essence of Christian marriage but *Galaktion and Episteme*, *Julian and Basilissa* and *Andronikos and Athanasia* show that it was possible to overcome its barriers and still have a legitimate and fulfilling marriage in the eyes of God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dictionaries and Reference Books:

Grammatik d. ntl Griechisch, ed., A. Debrunner, *Ergänzungsheft* Zurich. Aufl. von D. Tabachoritz (Göttingen, 1965⁹).

Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, eds, F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907-53).

Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire, eds, M. Viller et al (Paris, 1937-).

The Digest of Justinian, Latin text, eds, T. Mommsen and P. Krueger; Eng. tr., A. Watson, Vols 1-4 (Pennsylvania, 1985).

Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols, ed., A. Ehrhard (Berlin, 1936-).

LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC) II (1): *Aphrodisias-Athena* (Zurich and Munich, 1984).

Martyrologium Romanum, eds, H. Delehaye et al (Brussels, 1940).

PLRE, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vols I-III, ed., J. Martindale (Cambridge, 1971-1992).

PIR, ed., L. Petersen, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculo I, II, III, pars V*, Academiae Scientiarum Rei Publicae Democraticae Germanicae (Berlin, 1970-1987).

A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Vol 1³, ed., W. Smith (London, 1890-1891).

Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Acta Sanctorum., Nov. Propylaea, ed., H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902).

Inscriptions:

- CIG** *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Vol II, ed., A. Boeckhius (Berlin, 1843).
IG *Inscriptions Graecae Siciliae et Italiae* ed., G. Kaibel (Berlin, 1890).

Papyri:

- PF** *Papiri Greco-Egizii*, eds, D. Comparetti and G. Vitelli, *Supplementi filologia-storici ai monumenti antichi*, Vol I: *Papiri Fiorentini, Documenti Pubblici e Privati dell'età Romana e Bizantina*, ed., G. Vitelli (Milan, 1906).
PFrieb *Griechische und demotische der Universtätsbibliothek Freiburg, mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung IV*, eds, R. Daniel et al (Bonn, 1986).
PGiess *Griechische Papyri im Museum der Oberheissischen Geschichtsvereins zu Geissen*, eds, E. Kornemann and P. Messer, Band I (Leipzig & Berlin, 1910-1912).
PMich *Michighan Papyri*, Vol VIII, *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis*² eds, H. Youtie and J. Garrett Winter (Ann Arbor, London, 1951).
PTeb *The Tebtunis Papyri*, part II, eds, B. Grenfell et al (London, 1907).
SB *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, ed., F. Preisigke, Vol I (Strasburg, 1915).
UPZ *Urkunden der Ptolomäer Zeit*, ed., U. Wilcken, *Unveränderter Photomechanischer nachdruck* (Berlin, 1927-1957).

PRIMARY SOURCES: Texts

- Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, eds, R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (G. Olms, Hildesheim, 1959).
Acts of the Christian Martyrs, ed.. H. Musurillo (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972).

- Aeschylus
Septemque Supersunt Tragoedias, ed. D. Page (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972).
- Ammianus Marcellinus,
Historia II, tr., J. C. Rolfe (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1937).
- Les apophthegmes des pères*, chapters I-IX, ed., J.- C Guy, SC 387 (Cerf, Paris, 1993).
- The Apostolic Fathers*, tr., K. Lake (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1912).
- Aristophanes,
Comoediae II, eds, F. W. Hall and W. M. Geldart, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1951).
- St Athanasius,
The Life of St. Antony, tr., R. T. Meyer, Ancient Christian Writers, no. 10 (The Newman Press, London, 1950).
- Athanasius, *Vita Sancti Antonii*, ed., G. J. M. Bartellink (Cerf, Paris, 1994).
- Augustine,
Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects, ed., R. J. Deferrar, The Fathers of the Church, vol 27 (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1955).
- *Confessions*, tr., R. S. Pine-Coffin (Penguin, Middlesex, 1961).
- Aulus Gellius,
The Attic Nights, vol. 1 (Loeb, London and New York, 1927).
- St. Basil,
Exegetical Homilies, tr., Sister Agnes Clare Way, The Fathers of the Church (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1963).
- *The Ascetic Works of Basil*, tr., W. Clarke, Translations of Christian Literature, Series I (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1925).

The Greek New Testament,

eds, K. Aland et. al, Institute for New Testament Textual Research (American Bible Society London, New York, 1966).

- *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament* (Samuel Bagster & sons, London, 1879).

- *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatum versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pii PP. XI, ed., A. Gasquet* (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Rome, 1926-).

Cassian,

Institution Cénobitiques, ed., J.- C. Guy, SC 109 (Cerf, Paris, 1965).

Cecilia,

Life and Martyrdom of the Holy and Glorious Martyr of Christ, Cecilia and those who were with her, SS. Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus, tr., E. F. Bowden (John Hodges, London, 1887).

Chrysostom,

vol. 10, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, 1st series, ed., P. Schaff (Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995).

- vol. 13, *idem*.

- *Homilies on Genesis 46-67*, tr., R. C. Hill, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 87 (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1992).

- *On Marriage and Family Life*, tr., C. P. Roth and D. Anderson (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1986).

- *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Epistles of St. Paul the Apostle to the Philippians, Colossians and Thessalonians*, tr., J. Tweed, A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic

- Church, vol. 14 (John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1843).
- *St. John Chrysostom: Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus and Philemon*, ed. P. Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series, vol. 13 (Hendrickson Publishers, 1995).
- Clement of Alexandria, *Extraits de Théodote*, tr., F. Sagnard, SC 23 (Cerf, Paris, 1970).
- *Les stromates, stromate VI*, ed., P. Descourtieux, SC 446 (Cerf, Paris, 1999).
- Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, tr., R. M. Price (Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1991).
- Dionysius the Areopagite, *Corpus Dionysiacum* (de Gruyter, Berlin, 1990-).
- Egeria, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, tr., J Wilkinson (Aris & Phillips, Jerusalem, 1981).
- Epiphanius, *The 'Panarion' of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis (selected passages)*, tr., P. R. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990).
- Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed., G. Bardy (Cerf, Paris, 1952-71).
- *Life of Constantine*, tr., Averil Cameron and S. G Hall, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1999).
 - GCS IV *Eusebius gegen Marcellus über die kirchliche Theologie die fragmente Marcellis* (Klostermann, Berlin, 1972).
- Evagrius, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the scholia*, eds, J. Bidez and L. Parmenter (Methuen & Co., London, 1989).

- Fredgar, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredgar*, tr., J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Thomas Nelson and sons, London and New York, 1960).
- Greek Anthology*, vol. 3, tr., W. R. Paton (Loeb, London, 1925).
- Gregory Of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, tr., L. Thorpe (Penguin, London, 1974).
- Hippocrates, vol. 4, ed., Littré (Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1978).
- Historia Monachorum In Aegypto*, ed., A.-J Festugière, Subsidia Hagiographica 34 (Brussels, 1961).
- Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I.14, ed., B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Monumentis 4 (Bibliopolii Hahniani, Hannover, 1905).
- *Vie de saint Columban et de ses disciples*, tr., A. de Vogüé and P. Sangiani (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1988).
- Lactantius, *de mortibus persectorum*, ed. and tr., J. L Creed (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1984).
- Leo, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI Le sage*, tr., P. Noailles and A. Dain (Les belles lettres, Paris, 1944).
- Lucian, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, vol. 3, tr., H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905).
- Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, tr., J. Wortley, Cistercian Studies Series, no. 139 (Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1992).
- Nicandrea, *Theriaca et Alexipharmaca*, ed., O. Schneider (Teubner, Leipzig, 1861).
- Origen, *Homélie sur les juges*, eds, P. Messié et al., SC 389 (Cerf, Paris, 1993).

- Pachomius, *Koinonia*, vol. I, *The Life of St. Pachomius and his Disciples*, tr., A. Veilleux (Cistercian Publications, Michighan, 1980).
- Palladius, *Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed., A- M Malingrey (Cerf, Paris, 1988).
- *The Lausiac History*, tr., R. Meyer, Ancient Christian Writers 34 (Green & Co, London, 1965).
- *Lausiac History*, tr., W. K. Lowther Clark (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, 1918).
- Philo, *The Works of Philo*, tr., C. D. Yonge (Hendrickson Publishers, USA, 1995).
- Photios, *The Bibliotheca: a Selection with Notes*, ed., N. G. Wilson (Duckworth, London, 1994).
- Pindar, *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*, ed., W. H. Race (Loeb, Cambridge, Mass., 1997).
- Plato, *Platonis Opera V.1*, ed., I. Burnet (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1902).
- *Laws*, vol. I, ed., R. G. Burns (Loeb, London, 1926).
- Pliny, *Epistularum Libri Novem, Epistularum ad Traianum Liber*, ed., H. Keil (Teubner, Leipzig, 1853).
- Michael Psellos, *Chronographiae*, vols 1 & 2, ed., E. Renauld (Les belles lettres, Paris, 1926-28).
- *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatios*, ed., A. R. Dyck (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1996).

- Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed., G. C. Hansen, GCS I (Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1995).
- *Ecclesiastical History according to the Text of Hussey*, with intr. by W. Bright (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1878).
- Sophocles, *Fabulae* (Teubner, Oxford, 1955).
- Synesius of Cyrene, *vol. 3: Correspondance, Lettres LXIV-CLVI*, ed., A. Garzya and tr., D. Roques (Les belles lettres, Paris, 2000).
- *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, tr., A. Fitzgerald (Oxford University Press, London, 1926).
- Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage: ad uxorem, de exhortatione castitatis, de monogamia*, tr., W. P. La Saint, Ancient Christian Writers, no. 13 (The Newman Press, London, 1956).
- *'De Corona' liber*, ed., J. Marra, Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum (Turin, 1927).
- Theodoret, *Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius, Rufinus: Historical Writings*, A Select Library of the Christian Church - Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 3, Second Series, ed., P. Schaff and H. Wace (Hendrickson Publishers, Cambridge, Mass., 1995).
- Theokritus, ed., A. S. F Gow, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1950).
- Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*, vols 1 and 2 (Loeb, London, 1916).

- The Council at Trullo Revisited*, eds, M. Featherstone and G. Nedungatt (Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome, 1995).
- Xenophon, *Xénophon d'Ephésiaques*, ed., G. Dalmeyda (Les belles lettres, Paris, 1926).

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Adriani. A, "Scavi della Missione dell' Istituto Papirologico Fiorentino ad Antinoë", *ASAE* 39 (1939), 659-663.
- Aigrain. R, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Poitiers, 1953).
- Alexiou. M, "A Critical Reappraisal of Eustathios Makrembolites "*Hysmine and Hysminas*", *BMGS* 3 (1977), 23-43.
- Allam. S, "Note sur le mariage par deux contrats dans l'Égypte romaine", *CE* 129 (1990), 323-333.
- idem*, "Quelques aspects du mariage dans l'Égypte ancienne", *JE* 67 (1981), 116-135.
- Anson. J, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif", *Viator* 5 (1974), 1-32.
- Arjava. A, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996).
- Aune. D. E, "Magic in Early Christianity", *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1980), 1507-1557.
- Bagnall. R, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993).
- Baldassare. I, "Antinoë: Necropoli Meridionale, (i) Relazione Preliminare", *ASAE* 69 (1983), 157-161.
- Balogh. E & Kahle. P. E, "Two Coptic Documents Relating to Marriage", *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), 330-340.

- Barber. C, "Reading the Garden in Byzantium: Nature and Sexuality", *BMGS* 16 (1992), 1-19.
- Barbour. R, *Greek Literary Hands, AD 400-1600* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981).
- Baring-Gould. Rev. S, *The Lives of the Saints* (John Grant, Edinburgh, 1914).
- Barnes. T. D, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., & London, 1982).
- idem*, "Pre Decian Acta Martyrum", *JTS* 19 (1968), 507-531.
- Bataille. A, *Les Memnonia: recherches de papyrologie sur le nécropole de la Thèbes d'Égypte aux époques Hellénistique et romaines* (L'institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1957),
- Bauckham. R, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum XCIII (Brill, Leiden, 1998).
- Beasley-Murray. G, *Baptism in the New Testament* (Macmillan & Co, London, 1963).
- Beaton. R, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Routledge, London & New York, 1996).
- Beauchamp. J, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (C4th-C7th): II Les pratiques sociales*, Travaux et mémoires au centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France, Monographies 6 (de Boccard, Paris, 1992).
- Dom Beaunier *La France monastique: Recueil historique des archevêchés, évêchés, abbayes et prieurés de France I: Province ecclésiastique de Paris* (Abbaye Saint-Martin, Paris, 1905).
- Beck. H. –G, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Beck, Munich, 1959).
- idem*, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Beck, Munich, 1971).

- idem*, "Marginalia on the Byzantine novel" in *Erotica Antiqua: Acta of the International Conference on the Ancient Novel*, ed., B. P. Reardon (Bangor, s.n., 1977).
- Bell. H. I, "Antinoopolis: a Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt", *JRS* 30 (1940), 133-147.
- Betz. H. D, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986).
- idem*, "Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri" in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, eds, C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991), 244-259.
- idem*, "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri" in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3, eds, B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sander (SCM Press Ltd, London, 1982), 161-170.
- Bisbee. G, *Pre-Decian Acts of Martyrs and Commentarii*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 22 (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1988).
- Bowersock. G, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995).
- Brock. S. P, "A Syriac *narratio* attributed to Abba Daniel of Sketis", *AB* 113 (1995), 269-280.
- Brooke. C. N. L, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989).
- Brown. P, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (SCM Press Ltd, London, 1981).
- idem*, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1988).
- idem*, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1992).

- Browning. R, "Literacy in the Byzantine World", *BMGS* 4 (1978), 39-54.
- idem*, "The 'Low-Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World" in *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* (Variorum Reprints, Northampton, 1989), VII, 117-127.
- Bowersock. G. W, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994)
- Butler. A. J, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Domination* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1902).
- Walker Bynun. C, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (University of California Press, Berkeley & London, 1987).
- Cameron. A, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: a City finds its Symbol", *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978), 79-108.
- eadem*, "Virginity as Metaphor" in *History as Text*, ed., A. Cameron (Duckworth, London, 1989), 184-205.
- eadem*, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: the Development of Christian Discourse* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991).
- eadem*, "Sacred and Profane Lone" in *Women, Men and Eunuchs*, ed., L. James (Routledge, London & New York, 1997), 1-23.
- eadem*, "The Ought and the Is" in *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*, ed., L. James (Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999), 205-213.
- van Cauwenberg. P, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte* (Paris, 1914).
- Cheyne. J.-C, "Toparque et topotèrètès a la fin du IIe siècle", *REB* 42 (1984), 215-228.
- Charlier. C, "Note sur les origines de l'écriture dite de Luxeuil", *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1948), 149-157.
- Chitty. D, *The Desert, A City: an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1995).

- Christides. V, "The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources", *Byzantinoslavica* 43 (1982), 8-17.
- Burton-Christie. D, *The Word In The Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993).
- Clark. E, *Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends: Essays and Translations, Studies in Women and Religion, Vol II* (The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1979).
- eadem*, *The Life of Melania the Younger, Studies in Women and Religion, vol. 14* (The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1984).
- eadem*, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Antique Christianity* (Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1986).
- eadem*, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993).
- Clugnet. L, "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété", *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* 5 (1900), 50-73, 254-271, 370-391.
- idem*, *ROC* 6 (1901), 56-87.
- Coles. R, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri, Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 4 (Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, Brussels, 1966).
- Conner. P. M, *Celibate Love* (Sheed and Ward, London, 1979).
- Coon. L. L, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1997).
- Cooper. K, *The Virgin and the Bride* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1996).
- eadem*, "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: an Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy", *JRS* 82 (1992), 150-164.
- Corcoran. S, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government AD 284-324* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996).
- Dagron. G, "Le christianisme dans la ville Byzantine", *DOP* 31 (1977), 3-25.

- Dawes. E and Baynes. N, tr., *Three Byzantine Saints* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1948).
- Delacourt. M, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual figure in Classical Antiquity* (Studio Books, London, 1961).
- Delaney. J. J, *Dictionary of Saints* (Kaye & Ward Ltd, Surrey, 1982).
- Delehay. H, "Le ménologe de Metaphraste", *AB* 17 (1898), 448-452.
- idem*, "Saints de Chypre", *AB* 26 (1907), 178-180; 284.
- idem*, *Étude sur le légendier romaine: les saints de novembre et de décembre* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1936).
- idem*, *The Legends of the Saints*, tr., D. Attwater (Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1962).
- idem*, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1966).
- idem*, "Un group de récits 'utiles à l'âme", *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecques et latines* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1966), 384-393.
- Delierneux. N, "Virilité physique et sainteté féminine", *Byzantion* 67 (1) (1997), 179-243.
- Devos. P, "Saint Jean Cassien et saint Moïse l'Éthiopen", *AB* 103 (1985), 61-74.
- Dix. G, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Dacre Press, London, 1945).
- Donadoni. S, "Rapporto Preliminare degli Scavi della Missione Fiorentina nel Tempio di Ramessese II ad Antinoë", *ASAE* 39 (1939), 665-672.
- Downey. G, "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)", *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* (reprint) 103 (5) (1959), 652-686.
- Drescher. J, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas*, Publications de la société d'archéologie Copte, textes et documents (Cairo, s.n., 1946).
- Duby. G, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France* (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 1978).

- Dyck. A, ed., *Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatios* (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1996).
- Eckenstein. L, *A History of Sinai*, Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge (The Co., London & New York, 1921).
- van Eijk. H. C, "Marriage and Virginité, Death and Immortality" in *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, eds, J. Fontaine and C. Kannengiesser (Beauchesne, Paris, 1972), 209-237.
- Elliot. A. G, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (University Press of New England, USA, 1987).
- Elliott. D, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993),
- Elm. S, *Virgins of God: the Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994).
- Every. G, "Toll gates on the Airway", *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (2) (1970), 139-151.
- Dom B. Fleureau, *Les antiquitéz de la ville et du duché d'Estampes* (Paris, 1683).
- Forsyth. G and Weitzmann, K *Sinai and the Monastery of Saint Catherine* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1979).
- Fowden. G, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986).
- Frankfurter. D, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: the Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1993).
- Frend. W. H. C, "The Saga of St George" in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, Ecclesiastical History Society, 1992 Summer Meeting, ed., D. Wood (Blackwell, Oxford, 1993).
- De Gaiffier. B, "Source d'un texte relatif au mariage dans la vie de S. Alexis BHL. 289", *AB* 63 (1945), 48-55,
- idem*, "Intactam Sponsam Relinquens: a propos de la vie de S. Aléxis", *AB* 65 (1947), 157-195.

- Galatariotou. C, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender", *BMGS* 9 (1984/ 85), 55-94.
- Ganz. D, "The Luxeuil Prophets and Merovingian Missionary Strategies", *Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts* (The Yale University Library Gazette, vol. 66, 1991), 105-117.
- Garrett. R, *Part I of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1899-1900: Topography and Itinerary* (The Century Co., New York, 1914).
- Garsoïan. N. G et al, *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, Dumbarton Oaks Symposium 1980 (DumbartonOaks, Washington DC, 1982).
- Gasiorowski. S. J, "A Fragment of a Greek Illustrated Papyrus from Antinoë", *JEA* 17 (1931), 1-9.
- Geldenhuis. N, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd, Edinburgh, 1950).
- Goehring. J, "The Encroaching Desert: Literary Production and Ascetic Space in Early Christian Egypt", *J ECS* 1 (3) (1993), 281-296.
- Goergen. D, *The Sexual Celibate* (SPCK, London, 1974).
- Goldschmidt. L and Pereira. E, *Vida do Abba Daniel do mosteiro de Scete. Versão Ethiopica* (Emprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1897).
- Gould. G, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993).
- Grubbs. J. E, "'Pagan' and 'Christian' Marriage: the State of the Question", *J ECS* 2 (4) (1994), 361-412.
- eadem*, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995).
- eadem*, "Constantine and Imperial Legislation on the Family" in *The Theodosian Code*, eds, J. Harries and I. Wood (Duckworth, London, 1993), 120-142.
- Guérin. P, *Les petits Bollandists: Vies des saints de l'ancien et du Nouveau Testament du martyrs, des pères, des auteurs sacrés et*

ecclésiastiques des vénérables et autres personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté (Bloud et Barral, Paris, 1872-74, 1878).

Hagedorn. D and Koenen. L, "Eine Handschrift des Achilleus Tatios", *Museum Helveticum* 27 (1970), 49-57.

Hägg. T, "The 'Parthenope Romance' Decapitated", *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 (1984), 61-92.

Halkin. F, "La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou (BHG 1322w)", *AB* 63 (1945), 56-64.

idem, "Un manuscrit grec inconnu: le ménologe de Douai Abbey, près de Reading", *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), 51-58.

idem, *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie Byzantin* (Brussels, 1971).

idem, *Hagiologie byzantine: texts inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1986).

idem, *Hagiographica Inedita Decem*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 21 (Leuven University Press, Brepols, 1989).

Hardy. E, *Christian Egypt, Church and People: Christianity and Nationalism in the Patriarchate of Alexandria* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1952).

Harnack. A, *Luke the Physician*, tr., Rev. J. R. Wilkinson (Willams & Norgate, London, 1907).

Harris. C. R. S, *The Heart and the Vascular System in Ancient Greek Medicine from Alcmaeon to Galen* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973).

Ashbrook-Harvey. S, "Sacred Bonding: Mothers and Daughters in Early Syriac Hagiography", *J ECS* 4 (1) (1996), 27-56.

eadem, "Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography: Reversing the Story" in *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, eds, L. L. Coon et al (University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville & London, 1990), 36-59.

- Heene. K, *The Legacy of Paradise: Marriage, Motherhood and Woman in Carolingian Edifying Literature* (Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1997).
- Herrin. J, *Formation of Christendom* (Fontana Press, Oxford, 1987).
- Himmelfarb. M, *Tours of Hell: an Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1983).
- Holweck. Rt. Rev. F. G, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (B. Herder Book Co, London, 1924).
- Howard-Johnston. J and Hayward. P. A, *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999).
- Hunger. H, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der byzantiner II* (Beck, Munich, 1978).
- Hunter. D, "Resistance to the Virginal Ideal in Late Fourth-Century Rome: the Case of Jovinian", *Theological Studies* 48 (1987), 45-64.
- James. F, *The Origins of France* (Macmillan Press, London, 1982).
- Janin. R, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen age, commende et typica (Xe-XIVe siècle)", *REB* 22 (1964), 5-44.
- idem*, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin: III les églises et les monastères*, (Institut de français d'études byzantins, Paris, 1953).
- Jeffreys. E, "The Comnenian Background to the 'Romans d'antiquité'", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 455-486.
- Joannou. P-P, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques*, 2 vols (Tipografia Italo-Orientale S. Nilo, Rome, 1962).
- Johnson. J de M, "Antinoë and its Papyri", *JEA* 1 (1914), 168-181.
- Jones. A. H. M, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1983).

- idem*, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (The English Universities Press Ltd, London, 1961).
- Jouguet. P, *La vie municipale dans L'Égypte romaine*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 104 (Fontemoing et Cie, Paris, 1911).
- Kelly. J. N. D, *Jerome: his Life, Writings and Controversies* (Duckworth, London, 1998).
- Kitch. S. L, *Chaste Liberation: Celibacy and Female Cultural Status* (University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1989).
- Kleinberg. A. M, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1993).
- Konstan. D, *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994).
- Shepard Kraemer. R, *When Aseneth met Joseph: a Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and his Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998).
- Kuehn. C. A, *Channels of Imperishable Fire: the Beginnings of Christian Mystical Allegory and Dioscorus of Aphroditto* (Peter Lang, New York, 1995).
- Kyrtatas. D. J, *The Social Structure of the Early Christian Communities* (Verso, London & New York, 1987).
- M. Léon de Laborde, *Journey through Arabia Petrea to Mount Sinai and the Excavated City of Petra* (J. Murray, London, 1836).
- Laiou. A, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux C11th-C13th siècles*, Travaux et mémoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 7 (de Boccard, Paris, 1992).
- eadem*, *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1993).

- Laiou. A and Simon. D, eds, *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1994).
- Lallemand. J, "Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Diocletien à la création du Diocèse (284-382), Contribution à la fin du III^e et au IV^e siècle", *Académie royale de Belgique mémoires (lettres)* 57 (2) (1964), 4-342.
- Lapidge. M and Herren. M, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Rowman & Littlefield, England, 1979).
- Lapidge. M and Rosier. J, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (D. S Brewer, Cambridge, 1985).
- Leclercq. J, *Monks on Marriage: a Twelfth-Century View* (The Seabury Press, New York, 1982).
- Lemerle, P, *Le premier Humanisme byzantin: notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à byzance des origines au x^e siècle* (Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1971).
- Lewis. N, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, Papyologica Florentina, ed., R. Pintaudi, Vol XI (Edizioni Gonnelli, Florence, 1982).
- Lewis. N and Reinhold. M, *Roman Civilisation: Selected Readings, Vol II - the Empire* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1955).
- Leyerle. B, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001).
- Liebeschuetz. W, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972).
- Littlewood, A. R, "Romantic Paradises: the Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance", *BMGS* 5 (1979), 95-115.
- idem*, "Gardens of Byzantium", *Journal of Garden History* 12 (2) (1992), 126-153.
- Lowe, E. A, "The Script of Luxeuil: a Title Vindicated", *RB* 102 (1953), 132-142.

- Luck. G, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (John Hopkins Line Press, Baltimore & London, 1985).
- idem*, *Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits: Religion, Morals and Magic in the Ancient World* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2000).
- Lynch. J. H, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986).
- MacAlister. S, *Dreams and Suicides: the Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire* (Routledge, London & New York, 1996).
- MacCoull, L, "Coptic Marriage Contracts", *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrologie=Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 17 (2) (1979), 116-123.
- eadem* *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: his Work and his World* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1988).
- MacCulloch. J. A, *The Harrowing of Hell: a Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1930).
- McKechnie. P, "'Women's Religion' and Second-Century Christianity", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (3) (1996), 109-131.
- McKitterick. R, "The Scriptoria of Merovingian Gaul: a Survey of the Evidence" in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, eds, H. Clarke and M. Brennan (British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, 1981), 177-182.
- Malamut. E, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (CNRS, Paris, 1995).
- Mango, C, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1980).
- Marquardt, J, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II (Hermann Gentrer Verlag, Darmstadt, 1957).
- Masai. F, "Pour quelle église fut exécuté le lectionnaire de Luxeuil?", *Scriptorium* 2 (1948), 37-46.
- Meyendorff. J, "Christian Marriage in Byzantium", *DOP* 44 (1990), 99-107.

- van Minnen. P, "The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic", *AB* 113 (1995), 13-38.
- Mirot, L, *La chronique de Morigny (1095-1152)* (Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, Paris, 1909).
- Molin. J.-B and Mutembe. P, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XII^e au XVI^e siècle*, *Théologie historique* 26 (Beauchesne, Paris, 1974).
- Montevecchi. O, "Ricerche di Sociologia nei Documenti dell'Egitto Greco-Romani", *Aegyptus* 14 (1936), 1-83.
- eadem*, *La Papirologia* (Società Editrice Internazionale, Turin, 1973).
- Morin. G, "Le lectionnaire de l'église de Paris au VIII^e siècle", *RB* 10 (1893), 438-441.
- Morris. R, "The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century" in *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed., S. Hackel (Fellowship of St. Alban & St. Sergius, London, 1981).
- Munier. C, *Mariage et virginité dans l'église ancienne* (Peter Lang, Berne, 1987).
- Murray. M, "St Menas of Alexandria", *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (1907), 25-122.
- Nelson. J, "Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History" in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, ed., J. Nelson (Hambleton Press, London Ronceverte, W. Va, 1986).
- Nevanlinna. S and Taavitsainen. I, *St Katherine of Alexandria: the Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster MS 7* (DS Brewer, Cambridge, 1993).
- Noret. J, "Ponctuation et accenuation byzantines", *Byzantion* 65 (1995), 69-79.
- O'Sullivan. J. N, "Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Achilles Tatios I", *Classical Quarterly* 28 (1978), 312-329.

- Oulton. J and Chadwick. H, *Alexandrian Christianity*, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 2 (SCM Press Ltd, London, 1954).
- Paliouras. A, *The Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt Sinai* (A. E, Glyka Nera Attikis, Greece, 1985).
- Papaconstantinou. A, "La liturgie stationale à Oxyrhynchos dans la première moitié du 6^e siècle. Réédition et commentaire du P.Oxy XI 1357", *REB* 54 (1996), 135-159.
- Pargoire. J, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins", *Echos d'orient* 9 (1906), 21-25.
- Patlagéan. E, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à byzance", *Studi Medievali* III, 17 (2) (1976), 597-624.
- eadem*, "Familles chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure et histoire démographique du IV^e siècle" in *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IV^e-XI^e siècle*, Transformation et conflits au IV^eme siècle ap. J. C (Bonn, 1978), reprinted in *Variorum Reprints* (London, 1981), 169-186.
- Pavlovskis. Z, "The *Life* of St. Pelagia the Harlot: Hagiographic Adaptation of Pagan Romances", *Classical Folia* 30 (2) (1976), 138-149.
- Perkins. J, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (Routledge, London, 1995).
- Perpillou-Thomas. F, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, *Studia Hellenistica* 31 (Louvain, 1993).
- Petersen. J. M, tr., *Handmaids of the Lord: Contemporary Descriptions of Feminine Asceticism in the First Six Christian Centuries* (Cistercian Studies, Michigan, 1996).
- Pilsworth. C, "Dating The *Gesta Martyrum*: a Manuscript-Based Approach", *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (3) (2000), 309-324.
- Piolin. P, *Supplément aux vies des saints et spécialement aux petits Bollandists: d'après les documents hagiographiques les plus*

- authentiques et les plus récents* (Blond et Barral, Paris, 1885-1903).
- Bishop Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (printed for the author, London, 1743-1745).
- Quatremère. E, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte* (Paris, 1811), 2 vols.
- Quinn. K *Texts and Contexts: the Roman writers and their Audience* (Routledge, London, 1979).
- Rapp. C, "Ritual Brotherhood in Byzantium", *Traditio* 52 (1997), 285-326.
- eadem*, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience", *DOP* 50 (1996), 313-332.
- eadem*, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: the Use of 'Diegesis'", *J ECS* 6 (3) (1998), 431-448.
- Reardon. B. P (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989).
- Renaudot. E, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (Paris, 1713).
- Riché. P, "Centers of Culture in Frankish Gaul between the Sixth and Ninth Centuries" in *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le haut moyen age* (London, 1981), 230-233.
- Ritzer. K, *Le mariage dans les églises chrétiennes de 1^{er} au XI^e siècle* (Cerf, Paris, 1971).
- Robert. L, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*, (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1994).
- Robertson. D, *The Medieval Saints' Lives: Spiritual Renewal and Old French Literature*, The Edward C. Armstrong Monographs on Medieval Literature 8 (French Forum Publishers, Kentucky, 1995).
- Rousseau. P, "Blood Relationships Among Early Eastern Ascetics", *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1972), 135-144.

- idem*, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978).
- Rousselle. A, *Porneia: on Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, tr., A. Pheasant (Blackwell, Oxford, 1988).
- Saller, R and Shaw. B, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate", *JRS* 74 (1984), 124-156.
- Salmon. P, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, Collectana Biblica Latina 7 (Vatican City, 1944).
- Schubert. P, "Antinoopolis: pragmatisme ou passion?", *CE* 72 (1997), 119-127.
- Shaw. B, "The Passion of Perpetua", *Past and Present* 139 (1993), 3-45.
- Sharf. A, "The Eighth Day of the Week" in *Καθηγητρια Essays presented to Joan Hussey* (Porphyrogenitus, Surrey, 1988), 27-50.
- Skrobucha. H, *Sinai* (Oxford University Press, London & New York, 1966).
- Stevenson. K, "The Origins of the Nuptial Blessing", *The Heythrop Journal* 21 (4) (1980), 412-416.
- idem*, *Nuptial Blessings: a Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (Alcuin Club, SPCK, 1982).
- Stramara, D. F, "Double Monasticism in the Greek East, Fourth through Eighth Centuries, *JECS* 6 (2) (1998), 269-312.
- Szarmach, P. E, ed., *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts* (State University of New York Press, New York, 1996).
- Taft. R. F, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: the Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN., 1986).
- Talbot. A. M, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1996).
- Timm. S, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit Teil 4 (M-P), Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des voderen Orients* (Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Wiesbaden, 1988).

- Toynbee. A, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1973).
- Tregiarri. S, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).
- Vandoni. M, *Feste Pubbliche e Private nei Documenti Greci*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità, Serie papirologica, VIII (Cisalpino, Milan, 1964).
- Vassilaki. M, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Skira, Milan, 2000).
- Vryonis Jr. S, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)", *DOP* 11 (1957), 263-277.
- Weinstein. D and Bell. R in *Saints and Society: the Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1982).
- Wilken. R, *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (University of California Press, Berkeley & London, 1983).
- Williams. S, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, (B. T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1985).
- Wilmart. D. A, "La lettre LVIII de saint Cyprien parmi les lectures non bibliques du lectionnaire de Luxeuil", *RB* 28 (1911), 228-233.
- Wilson. N. G, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Duckworth, London, 1983).
- Wilson. S, *Saints and their Cults: Studies on Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987).
- Wolff. H. J, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law*, America Philological Asociation (Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1939).
- Wood. I, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (Longman, London & New York, 1994).
- Wortley. J, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia* (Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1996).

idem,

Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs, Sources d'histoire médiévale (CNRS, Paris, 1987).

APPENDIX ONE

The three versions of *Andronikos and Athanasia* I will compare are:

- A P. Bib. Nat. gr, Coislin 283 (ff. 291^v-295) [C11th]
- B P. Bib. Nat. gr. 1598 (ff. 247^v-252) [C10th, copied in 993]
- C Cod. Urbani 36 (ff. 183-193^v) [C10th-11th]. This is the version translated and commented on in the thesis.

The three versions differ noticeably: A is the briefest account, B is more descriptive and C is the most expansive. C is the most complex in terms of vocabulary and syntax. Episodes are elaborated, lengthened and there is emphasis on human emotion. Explanations are given for the characters' reactions. There is a prologue and narrative elements, not present in A or B.

As the story proceeds, Athanasia is introduced as Andronikos' wife. A gives no background detail at all. In B, Athanasia is the *θυγατέρα ἀργυροπράτου*. C relates that she is the daughter of Andronikos' fellow banker, named as John (*θυγάτηρ τῶν ὁμοτέχνων τινός, Ἰωάννης*). His name could have been introduced since all three versions agree that the couple's son is called John and C's author may have wished to create a link whilst simultaneously providing more narrative detail.

As the main account progresses, it is ever more noticeable that C gives more day-to-day detail: the couple go to *τὸ κυριακὸν* on Sunday evenings; a feature omitted by A and B. The earlier versions, A and B, have a terse and compact narrative. Thus when Athanasia goes to check on her children and finds them severely ill, there is no build-up in A. In B she is returning from the rather vague occupation of 'good works' (*ἀπὸ φιλοπονίας*) whilst in C she is returning home after matins (*ἥ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῶν, οὕτω τέλος ἐχούσης τῆς ὀρθρινῆς δοξολογίας, ἦλθε πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν*).

When the children die there is an expansive section in C focusing on Athanasia's terrible grief. She is inconsolable, wishing to die with her children.

Andronikos spends much time in trying to console her, in vain. In B she actually tries to choke herself (ἐζήτει πνίξαι ἑαυτὴν) and there is no comforting speech from Andronikos and in A she just wishes to die (ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐζήτει συναποθανεῖν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς).

The differences between the three versions again clearly appear in the descriptions of the mourners who attend the children's funeral. A has been shown to be the least descriptive of the three narratives and continues thus in stating that a 'sufficient crowd' turned up (ὄχλος ἱκανός). B is more descriptive claiming that the whole city attends the funeral with the Patriarch. As usual C is the most fulsome. All the people in the city arrive with the Patriarch himself (emphasis is placed on the Patriarch: αὐτὸς ὁ Πατριάρχης) *and* his clergy.

Later, when Julian the martyr appears to Athanasia in a dream, we again have three levels of description. A states that in the middle of the night, Athanasia has a dream. B narrates that she refuses to go home after the funeral, wishing to sleep in the martyrion and has a dream in the middle of the night. C claims that she remains by her children's tomb all night weeping inconsolably, until exhausted she falls asleep and has a dream.

The one instance when A and B provide a fuller account than C occurs at the point when the couple reach Alexandria. At this point Andronikos decides to go to Sketis. C claims that his motive in doing so was because he met a monk of Sketis and decided to travel with him. In A and B, Andronikos sees a layman having an argument with a monk. The layman wishes to travel to Sketis immediately but the monk is reluctant. It is curious that the loquacious C did not use this episode and its omission may indicate that C belongs to a different stemmatic group from A and B. This hypothesis is confirmed by another episode. After their twelve years of separation, Andronikos is reunited with Athanasia. Both have independently decided to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In versions A and B Andronikos is greatly fatigued after journeying through the desert and is forced by the sweltering heat at noon to take shelter under thorns (A: ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω ἀκάνθης ἀναψύξαι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος). In C Andronikos merely sits under a tree (καταφλεγείς τῷ καύσωνι· καὶ δὴ ὑποκάτω δένδρου τινὸς

ἐκαθέσθη διαναπαύσασθαι). Being forced to lie under thorns to escape the dramatic and the scene would surely have been used by C, had A and B been exemplars.

From these observations we can postulate that version B is a derivative of A. What is interesting is that there are also instances where A and C concur but B does not. The first occurs when Andronikos and Athanasia meet under the shade of a tree/ thorns (depending on which version is used) for the first time in twelve years. Andronikos does not recognise this monk as his wife Athanasia, a person whose face is marred by suffering and moreover is heavily sunburnt. The twist is that she does know who he is. The couple greet one another and Athanasia asks Andronikos for his name. But this last action only happens in A and C. The most likely reason for the question is the dramatic tension thus introduced: will she tell him who she is, how will she react when her suspicion that this man is indeed her husband is confirmed?

A and C also coincide at the very end of the story, after Andronikos dies. B concludes with the information that he is buried near Athanasia. A and C describe a quarrel, C in far greater detail, between the monks of Oktokaidekaton and those of Sketis. Each retreat claims his body. Oktokaidekaton claims victory after Daniel threatens to leave Sketis unless Andronikos is laid to rest beside his wife. Daniel wins and the pair are buried together. Thus we can posit that not only is B a derivative of A but that both A and C derive from a common ancestor.

